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ABSTRACT

Plenary selections include reports on the difficulties facing non-native English speakers who choose ESL as a profession, the strengths and weaknesses of university-based teacher-training programs, the language situation in the United States with concentration on TESOL and language in American life, the need for communication among the major professional organizations concerned with linguistic and cultural factors in education, English for Special Purposes, and the interrelatedness of TESOL research and training. Insights into research are provided in discussions of the role of ESL programs in hastening the extinction of indigenous languages in foreign countries, the relationship between bilingualism and cognitive function, intake control in second language learning, the role of prefabricated utterances in learners' progression toward native-like control of English, language proficiency of newly placed students compared with that of continuing students, and the attitudes of American undergraduates toward the language of foreign teaching assistants. Papers focusing on practice and application include reviews of university training programs for the rural ESL teacher, teaching in non-instructional settings, communicative disorders in the ESL classroom, problems in ESL programs, language learning via drama, ESL teacher intercultural awareness training, and vocabulary preparation for reading in the content area. (Author/JK)

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*On TESOL '80
Building Bridges:
Research and Practice
in
Teaching English
as a
Second Language*

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Selected papers from the Fourteenth Annual Convention of
Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages
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Preface

International TESOL '80 was a tribute to Ruth Crymes. As it began to take form, Ruth, as TESOL president, was asked to indicate what she would like to see happen in a convention—her convention. Her view of our world as a "village" with the closeness that we, in TESOL, feel although we are scattered throughout the world, gave rise to the realization that TESOL has, indeed, been a moving force in establishing firmer links and "building bridges" in international communication. With Ruth's guidance, we set out to plan a convention to show you how many bridges have been built by TESOL and what promise lies ahead.

"Building Bridges," the theme of the 14th Annual TESOL Convention held in San Francisco March 4-9, 1980, was especially appropriate. First, the location of the Convention, with its famous bridge and multi-ethnic, multi-cultural, multi-lingual community, provides a living symbol of the beauty of human diversity. Second, this was the first TESOL meeting of the decade, representing a bridge from the past into the future. And third, the TESOL Convention has become an annual celebration of interdisciplinary cooperation and communication. TESOL is one of the few professional organizations in the world which provides a professional forum for such a diverse group of individuals: teachers (from literally every corner of the profession—from early childhood to adult basic education, from every continent on earth), teacher trainers, researchers, program administrators, publishers and politicians, to name just a few. Over 4000 people came to San Francisco for the Convention; over 500 individuals presented papers, conducted workshops and gave demonstrations. A glance at the Convention Program provides an indication of the vitality of the organization, of the remarkable diversity of the membership: over 300 pages of meetings, schedules, abstracts, advertising, and an overwhelming list of titles of professional presentations.

"Overwhelming" may be too strong a word, but there has been a growing realization in TESOL that the sheer size of the organization presents a special challenge to its members. The quality of TESOL that has made it unique is open communication among a varied membership. In spite of geographical distance, linguistic, cultural, philosophical and methodological differences, TESOL members have always managed to communicate with each other. The bridge building at TESOL Conventions has always been an important part of the program. It is in this spirit that we offer this book: 24 articles (from nearly 100 submitted) representing bridge building between many groups in the profession.

Part I contains the Plenary Addresses: six spots in the program which were explicitly dedicated to identifying major issues confronting TESOL in the 80's. Ruth Crymes organized the first session around the training needs of non-native ESL teachers; Mayuri Sukwiwat and Larry Smith provided insights into the difficulties facing non-native English speakers who choose ESL as a profession. The focus on teacher training continues in the next set of papers as Virginia French Allen, Vicki Gunther, Carolyn Ebel, Sadae Iwataki and Russell Campbell examine the strengths and weaknesses of university-based teacher-training programs. Charles A. Ferguson and Shirley Brice Heath discuss the language situation in the U.S.A., in particular U.S. partners and how they compare with those of other nations. James E. Alatis organized the fourth Plenary Session around the need for communication among the major professional organizations concerned with linguistic and cultural factors in education. An important concern in the field, English for Special Purposes, is examined by Henry Widdowson, who sees answers for the profession at large in the solutions being sought in that specialized branch of endeavor. Evelyn Hatch ponders a number of bridges connecting researchers and teachers before she chooses one to build, and she very effectively reminds us of the complex interrelatedness of research and teaching.

Part II contains six articles on research. Richard Day provides a disquieting perspective on ESL in other countries; he presents evidence that ESL programs may be hastening the extinction of indigenous languages. The relationship between bilingualism and cognitive functioning is the focus of the second paper, by Kessler and Quinn. Gaies offers a model for describing intake control in second language learning; he points out that language data can only be classified as input if the learner takes it in, and intake control may be the only observable behavior which can be reliably connected to input. Prefabricated utterances are studied by Huebner in an effort to understand their role in learners' progression toward native-like control of English. In the fifth article Brown compares the language proficiency of newly placed students with that of continuing students, and provides evidence for teachers' suspicions that promotion criteria and placement criteria differ substantially. In the final research article Hinofotis and Bailey report the results of a study designed to ascertain the attitudes of American undergraduates toward the language of foreign teaching assistants.

Part III focuses on the application side of the profession with nine papers that cover a wide range of topics, from teacher training and program development to classroom techniques. The first three papers discuss important issues for teacher trainers. Carolyn Ebel provides insight into the needs of the rural ESL teacher and suggests ways for training programs to improve their effectiveness. Hideko Bannai reviews important research in socio-cultural awareness, providing teachers with a summary of the field and an extensive bibliography. Susan Lewis English describes the Critical Incident

Workshop, a technique to increasing teachers' awareness of cultural variables. The frustrating tendency of native English speakers to omit vocabulary items and grammatical structures is turned into a teaching tool by John Staczek, who explains how to produce materials and techniques around informal speech. In articles five and six, respectively, LoCastro and Laporte offer suggestions for getting students into the community while McCoy and Regan provide an analysis of administrative problems in ESP programs. The sensitive area of language disorders in the ESL classroom is discussed by Weissberg and Farmer, who offer suggestions for the classroom teacher who suspects that a student's learning difficulties may be due to physical/neurological problems. Richard Via reviews several teaching techniques adapted from drama, and provides a helpful review of related work by other proponents of drama in the ESL class. And finally, James W. Ramsay describes a program for teaching reading in ESP, providing detailed appendices which should prove valuable for program planners.

As varied as the papers in this book are, they can only suggest the diversity in the profession; it would take several volumes to adequately survey the field. What we sincerely hope is that this collection of papers will provide a bridge to professional territories for readers of many persuasions. If it does, it will have served a valuable function in keeping open the lines of communication in the field.

Janet Cameron Fisher

Mark A. Clarke

Jacquelyn Schachter

Los Angeles and Denver

August, 1980.

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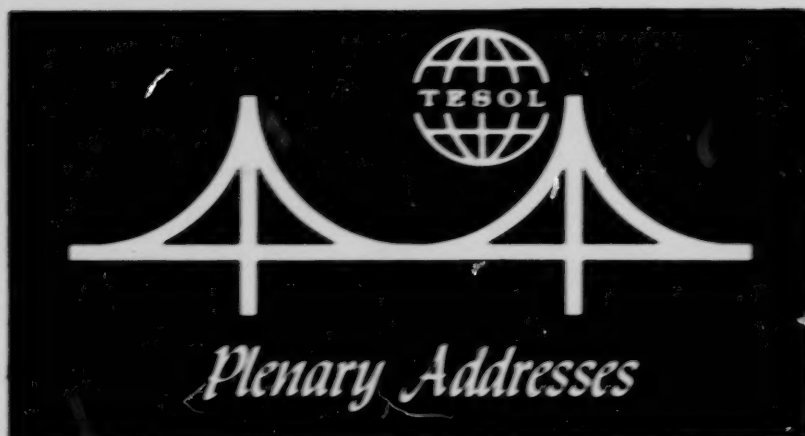
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TESOL and Training Non-Native English Speakers:

Are M.A. Teacher-Education Programs Getting the Job Done?

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**TESOL and Articulation Between Teacher Training
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TESOL and Training Non-Native English Speakers:

Are M.A. Teacher Education Programs Getting the Job Done?

Part I

Mayuri Sukwiwat¹

Culture Learning Institute
East-West Center

When the late President of TESOL, Ruth Crymes, asked me to join her at a session at this Convention to talk on a topic of teacher education for non-native speakers of English, I couldn't help but feel privileged. On the other hand, I felt reluctant to do so and told her that as President she should have the floor to herself and no one else should share this unique occasion. But for Ruth Crymes to attach such importance to herself in that way was out of the question. She insisted that the problems of teacher education in ESL be addressed by a non-native speaker of English as well as a native speaker. She thought my long-time experience as a teacher trainer in Thailand could be shared at this convention. For this reason I accepted her invitation.

Throughout our discussions, Ruth Crymes expressed her concern over the usefulness of M.A. programs in ESL in the U.S., particularly the program at the University of Hawaii in which she played an important role. Her questions were: to what extent can M.A. programs in ESL prepare and train graduates, both native and non-native speakers of English, to train prospective teachers, especially at the secondary level, in non-U.S. settings?; do graduates leave theoretical/practical training and translate it into something workable in a host of different situations? In short, she was asking for somewhat of an evaluation of the educational programs she herself was engaged in.

¹The author wishes to acknowledge her appreciation and thanks to Ruth Crymes, Ted Plaster, Richard Day, John Fieg and Lapa Chinnasarn for supplying materials, information and insights.

My question to her was: Why choose Thailand—why not Japan, or some other country? She said that Thailand would provide a good context in which to address these problems. There was no love-hate relationship between the Thais and the English language in the same way that there existed between those in former British or American colonies. In Thailand, the English language has never been considered the language of imperialism. To compare with Japan, the English language situation or status is somewhat similar. Yet, the degree of dependence on English as a language for wider communication is very different. Take a case of Japanese tourists and Thai tourists to illustrate this. The Japanese tourists can often get things done without having to use the English language. Many parts of the world will always find ways to accommodate the Japanese and will make them at home in the Japanese language. This cannot be said of the Thai tourists.

In Thailand the English language has been in use more than a century—roughly about 12 decades. When one traces when and how English came to be a language of wider communication in Thailand, one cannot avoid linking it with the history of Thai diplomacy and foreign policy. I shall have to digress a bit and tell you briefly how the two issues are related.

As you know, Thailand (or Siam until after World War II), unlike many neighboring countries in Southeast Asia, was never colonized. For more than 800 years, Thailand has been a free kingdom. But this does not mean that we were not encroached upon by some western powers during the expansion of their empires. The most critical time was in the 1850s when Thailand (then Siam), as King Mongkut wrote to one of his ambassadors, had the horrid choice of "swimming up river to make friends with the crocodile or swimming out to sea to hang on to the tail of the whale." (You can guess yourselves who was the crocodile, who was the whale.) Since we were as yet unable to fight against them with warships and armaments, our only weapons, thought the king, were our "mouths" and our "hearts." By our "mouths" he probably meant "communicating with others in foreign tongues" and by our "hearts" he meant to be friendly with everyone who came to the kingdom. This two-fold strategy contributed to the maintenance of our political freedom and sovereignty. It was the policy of "making adjustments" to western presence and power that seemed to save us, and one of these adjustments was the learning of foreign tongues. This policy was deliberately begun by King Mongkut (Rama IV) or the great-grandfather of the present King (Rama IX). The king's policy of using "our mouths" to win friends coincided with the pursuit of his personal interests in philosophy and astronomy. To gain deeper knowledge of these sciences, he studied Latin with a French bishop and English with American missionaries and set up a school of foreign languages for the royal children in his own palace.

From the royal palace more than a century ago down to a school room in a remote village in Thailand the status of the English language has become well-established. The objectives for using it and learning it have always

been for special purposes. To begin with, the English language was a means of acquiring more knowledge in western medicine, engineering, the art of western warfare, and western methods in shipbuilding. After World II, with the allied victory and the presence of the U.S. as the primary world power, we saw a tremendous increase in the use of the English language as an international language. Thailand became a host country of many international and regional organizations. The Thai have to use English not only to communicate with the English-speaking nationals, but also with all non-Thai speakers from all over the world. At present it is accurate to say that English is the most widely used language for wider communication.

Since the 1850s the English language has been offered in the school system as an optional subject, and in 1931 it was made a compulsory subject. Only recently has English been made an elective subject under the new National Education Scheme of 1977. The present state of affairs is that at the elementary level there is no foreign language offered. Thai is the only language taught. At grades 5 and 6 five hours of English per week are offered in public and private schools. There are two types of English curriculum: English for everyday living and English for occupational purposes as appropriate for the locality. At the lower secondary level (Grades 7, 8, 9, 10) all foreign languages have the same status, and the students can choose one foreign language. At the upper secondary level (Grades 11-12) students can choose to learn two foreign languages. You can see from this new curriculum that English is no longer a compulsory subject, but in practice it is the most frequently chosen foreign language by a majority of secondary school students.

Perhaps I should also note here that not only have the curriculum requirements of English changed but also the statement of the objectives. In a *Survey of the English Language Teaching Situation in the SEAMEO Countries: A Country Report on Thailand*, Dr. Rebecca D. Alcantara (1977) summarized the objectives of the English language teaching prior to the new National Education Scheme as follows:

- (1) to create an interest in and a willingness to learn English;
- (2) to develop facility in the use of English for day-to-day communication as well as for tertiary studies; and
- (3) to impart an understanding of the culture of the English-speaking peoples.

The new statement of the objectives announced in the National Education Scheme 1977 are as follows:

- (1) to enable the learner to discover and develop his ability, aptitude and interest with regard to the English language;
- (2) to equip the learner with basic skills and knowledge of the English language, which will be of use in his future career;
- (3) to lay the groundwork for further study of the English language;

- (4) to acquaint the learner with learning techniques and to instill in him the thirst for knowledge and self-improvement; and
- (5) to promote the understanding of other cultures, with a view to bringing about harmony and friendship among nations.

I am particularly happy with the last objective. The change from the promotion of an understanding of the culture of the English-speaking peoples to the understanding of other cultures is indeed a great improvement and is more akin to the original policy adopted by King Mongkut in 1850 (his idea of bringing about peaceful coexistence with all nations through our "mouths" and our "hearts"). To fulfill this objective, a great deal has to be changed in the teacher training programs in Thai colleges and universities. I hope to elaborate on this point later.

Let us see how we train our teachers. In Thailand teacher education programs are only offered by government teacher colleges and faculties of education in the government universities. No private institution is allowed to conduct teacher training programs. I would like to mention only how teachers of English are trained. Since 1974, all teacher colleges in Thailand have become degree-granting institutions. Teachers of English are trained at two levels: the Higher Certificate of Education Level—(2 years after high school graduation); and the B.A. degree level (4 years after high school graduation). There are a few universities that offer M.Ed. in TEFL, but I think it is accurate to say that most teachers of English at the secondary school level are graduates from B.Ed. in TEFL. Unfortunately, we still find that in practice non-English majors are allowed to teach English in secondary schools.

Turning to the ratio of secondary school students to teachers of English, I can only give you an alarming picture. The rate of growth in secondary school population is very high, approximately 58,000 a year. Yet the rate of increase in the number of teachers of English can hardly keep pace with the student population. Of this small number of teachers, we don't know how many are really qualified to do the job effectively. Those few that are qualified usually choose to go into more attractive careers rather than the teaching profession. Unless we do something to accelerate the number of teachers, improve their quality or provide better incentives, we are really facing a grave situation.

Let us then move to the brighter side and get into the American scene. On the whole, I have seen a great deal of improvement in teacher education programs in ESL in the U.S. during the last decade.

Palmer Acheson (1977) in his Survey of Teacher Preparation Programs in American and British Colleges and Universities presented an interesting set of findings. Some of the negative aspects in that survey may no longer be true today. The survey pointed out several shortcomings in the American M.A. programs; for instance, that they had an open admission policy, catering to candidates who were totally lacking in teaching experience; had no

TABLE 1
Curricular Requirements and Prerequisites: American Master's TPPs*

No. of TPPs	% of Total	Prerequisite and/or Requirement	Rank
40	100%	Linguistics and Phonetics	1
37	93%	Methods and Materials for TESOL	2
27	69%	Practice Teaching	3
21	53%	Electives within the TPP	4
20	50%	English language (for non-native speakers)	5
19	48%	Learning another language	6
19	48%	Review of current research rel. to TESOL	6
10	25%	Electives outside Education	8
9	23%	Electives within English	10
9	23%	Research Skills	10
8	20%	Educational Psychology	12
8	20%	Psycholinguistics	12
8	20%	Testing and Measurement	12
7	18%	Sociolinguistics	15
6	15%	Cultural Anthropology	16
6	15%	Literature in English (British)	16
5	13%	Curriculum/Syllabus Development	18
2	5%	History and Philosophy of Education	19

*n=40

concern for educational matters such as competence and performance in the classroom; had been exclusively in linguistics, rather than in education and/or the teaching of ESOL, and lastly emphasized the theoretical rather than the practical aspects of teacher preparation. Table 1, from Acheson (1977), indicates the rank ordering of the curriculum requirements and prerequisites offered in M.A. teacher preparation programs in the U.S.

Let us look at the present-day M.A. in ESL program and see where the shifts in emphasis are. To be more specific, let me refer to the University of Hawaii M.A. in ESL program which was a subject of Ruth Crymes' concern. The objectives of the Department of English as a Second Language are not primarily to train classroom teachers, as formerly. At present, the objectives are to train teacher trainers and language specialists in the fields of English as a second language, second language learning, and bilingualism. Graduates are expected to have a knowledge of the theoretical foundations in linguistics, psychological and sociological aspects of language. The practical courses are courses in methodology, materials development, and language testing.

We can see that many of the courses found in Acheson's survey are required in the present day M.A. in ESL program. But the scope of the program is broader and provides more aspects of language education in general. There seems to be a better balance between the theoretical and practical aspects.

Now comes the most difficult question to answer. Do graduates (and I mean both American and Thai) leave the programs with the ability to take their theoretical/practical training and translate it into something workable when they are charged with the responsibility of training young teachers?

(This question can be posed to graduates in all fields, not only to ESL graduates.) The whole process of transplanting knowledge from one level to another level is a very difficult process. It takes a great many hours of "flying" time, to use an aviation term. New graduates often forget that the level of students they are training is not the same as their own. A very easy and common practice is to feed whatever one has received to one's students without realizing that more harm can be done than good. In my one experience, I recall seeing on many occasions Chomsky's original texts (though only a few pages) and other linguistic treatises written by renowned scholars assigned to a class of Thai students who not only had a very limited background in the linguistic sciences but also insufficient knowledge of English. Such a practice would only cause academic indigestion.

Another complaint I often hear is that such and such a program is too theoretical and not practical enough. Here I am stuck with the terms "theory" and "practice" themselves. I can think of many academic courses dealing with theory that are practical and at the same time see many "practice" courses that are impractical. Perhaps it is not what one teaches but how one teaches it.

To demand that M.A. graduates alone do the job of bridging the gap between theory and practice is probably unfair. In order to provide good teacher education programs, concerted effort is needed from all parties—teachers, administrators, as well as policy-makers. I would like to stress that the impact of M.A. teacher education programs in the U.S. cannot be overlooked. To be more effective I would like to see the programs geared towards the *breeding of a new generation of language specialists*. I think I am right to expect Thai graduates from M.A. programs from U.S. universities to assume a leadership role in the language teaching profession. We need a *real* revolution in Thai teacher education programs and I think the new M.A. graduates can set a stage for it.

In order to bring about reform in language teacher education we need to tackle two areas. I'll try to point out how M.A. teacher education programs can be of service to Thai graduates in implementing this reform.

The first area is a redesign of language teacher education programs in teacher training institutions. The focus of this new design must be on the training of *language teachers*. In Thailand we are making a mistake in separating the training of prospective teachers of the mother tongue from prospective teachers of foreign languages. There should be at the very beginning of the training process a set of core courses which are required for all language teachers, regardless of what language they will teach later on. The core curriculum should encompass the basic elements of the nature of language; the fundamental principles of language as a communicative process; how language relates to one's thought and action; the relationships between function and form—and so on. What graduates from M.A. programs can do is to incorporate the knowledge, research findings, information, and

insights from the fields of linguistics, psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, and even the most recent discoveries in neurolinguistics. They should get together as a team to work out a new set of materials consisting of main texts, accompanied by workbooks or exercises. These materials may be written in Thai; or if they are written in English, they should be written in simple language rather than in specialized terminology or jargon. The aim in using these materials in training language teachers should be to enable them to be aware of language in use, to observe and to record how people actually use it. Language data compiled by students themselves can be from any language—Thai, Chinese, English, or French. If properly conducted, courses offered in linguistics, sociolinguistics, or psycholinguistics in M.A. ESL programs can provide these graduates with a solid foundation for the development of instructional materials in Thai teacher education programs. *How* these "theory" courses are presented is very important. I should like to see more deliberate encouragement from the M.A. programs in requiring students to engage in what I may call "language awareness activities." Language students should have the habit of "eavesdropping" in order to widen their storehouse of language data. My observation is that most foreign students in the U.S. fail to grasp opportunities to do more of this "educated eavesdropping." They usually confine themselves to the classroom environment and listen to "lecture register" only.

These exercises in language awareness should enable a language learner to become his or her own discourse analyst. In her paper on "The Second Language Teacher as Discourse Analyst," Ruth Crymes wrote:

"... the language teacher, too, needs to become a discourse analyst, not only to teach with expertise the discourse-oriented materials that may have been created, but also to use authentic discourse at hand as instructional material."

My response to this is that before a Thai teacher of English can do this, he or she should be trained to do so in his/her own language.

The gap in foreign language teacher training programs is a failure to relate the fundamentals of mother tongue teaching to those of second language teaching. In the case of Thailand, extra time, resources and energy have to be spent in training for the most basic skills of listening, reading, and writing. Some of the principles fundamental to the way people communicate should be dealt with in the teaching of the mother tongue. Then, the task of training Thai teachers of English would be a lot easier, and the limited time and resources could be devoted to the understanding of the target language and how to master it.

The second area of reform in which Thai graduates can provide leadership is the establishment of the language teaching profession. In recent years we have witnessed a sense of professionalism growing among Thai teachers of languages. The reason for this is the presence of The Regional Language Centre in Singapore and also the establishment of a national language center

in Thailand. Support also comes from all kinds of in-service training programs conducted by Thai educators themselves or with technical and financial assistance from external specialists from various agencies.

I am happy to add here that the growing professionalism among Thai teachers of English is also witnessed by an American colleague. Julia M. Burks, (1980) Director of Courses of the American University Alumni Language Center (A.U.A.) in Bangkok made the following observations:

"My general impression of training for language teachers in Thailand is that it's pretty good, and I have the impression that it is improving pretty fast. There are many well-qualified teacher trainers around. . . there seem to be many Ph.D.'s in linguistics and many very well-trained TEFL professionals in the Ministry and the teacher training colleges."

The picture of the Thai scene I painted earlier is, after all, not so gloomy. In addition, I think that initial pre-service teacher education programs at the degree level can be a primary source of inspiration and a sense of professional commitment. Therefore, I would expect Thai teacher trainers, after having been trained in the U.S., to gain more confidence in pursuing their profession. I'd also expect them to be better equipped with technical abilities and to gain more profound understanding of language teaching as a highly specialized profession—one of equal value to that of a doctor or a lawyer. A whole array of methodology or pedagogy courses in their M.A. programs ought to have given them confidence and a sense of satisfaction. If not, something must have gone wrong. The question whether or not those methodology courses can be of real use when graduates apply them in the situations totally different from those in the American context is still being asked. Most of us already know that in any kind of teacher preparation program, the best that can be done is to teach students *how to learn to teach* and not to teach them *how to teach*. With imagination and a body of knowledge, every language teacher will have to rely on his or her ability to improvise and to make adjustments. The art of improvising and making adjustments is a great art. If we are convinced that part of teaching is an art, we must see that our graduates are equipped with the techniques to perform that art.

Here I'd like to add that one important component not emphasized in methodology courses in teacher training programs in Thailand is the use of drama techniques in language learning and language teaching. I'm happy to see that this component is considered important at the University of Hawaii ESL Department. I believe it was Ruth Crymes who initiated this and who saw a strong link between drama and ESL. In 1973 Richard Via, a professional actor, was invited to give a course called "Drama and ESL," and ever since, the use of drama techniques has been a supplementary component of general methodology courses offered as an elective. The course has proved to be one of the "practice" courses that are practical. I expect Thai graduates from the M.A. program, especially from the University of Hawaii, will be

able to see the link between the intellectual and emotional aspects of language and stress it in their own teacher training programs.

This presentation is by no means trying to suggest what an ideal M.A. program in ESL in the U.S. should be. It is only an attempt to show how a typical M.A. program can be of service to a non-native speaker teacher trainer, such as a Thai, in this case. Peter Strevens (1974) presented his views on what basic principles of teacher training ought to encompass. He mentioned three components: the skills component, the information component, and the theory component. I think the M.A. in ESL programs in the U.S. are not providing the skills component since the general requirements already demand that M.A. candidates must be proficient in the English Language. What they can supply are the information and theory components. I would like to repeat that the amount of information or theory can be as ample and varied as food items in a supermarket, but what is more crucial is how much of this supply should be selected and what ingredients would be of most nutritious value. Finally, one has to leave it to each individual graduate with the art of his or her cuisine to make a meal exquisite in taste as well as nutritious in value for his or her customers.

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Part II

Larry E. Smith

Culture Learning Institute
East-West Center

I have worked at the East-West Center for the past ten years. The East-West Center is a national educational institution established in Hawaii by the U.S. Congress in 1960 to promote better relations and understanding between the United States and the nations of Asia and the Pacific through cooperative study, training, and research. The Center is administered by a public, nonprofit corporation whose international Board of Governors consists of distinguished scholars, business leaders, and public servants.

It has been part of my job to travel to Asia each year to find out what is going on in English education and to learn of the interests there in order to insure that our language programs are relevant to the needs and interests of the people we are serving. Because I am often asked about ESL graduate programs in the U.S., I have tried to keep informed of the ESL programs across the country: which scholar is where? the cost of tuition, any specialty a program might have?, etc. Charley Blatchford's *TESOL Training Program Directories* have been a real asset in helping me maintain an overview.

There is no doubt that the ESL Graduate programs in the United States have improved dramatically over the past 10 years and there are plenty of reasons for the sense of pride that most ESL programs have. This has helped the growing professionalism among language teachers. But there is still a serious problem here. Most of our M.A. programs in ESL continue to emphasize (overemphasize, in my opinion) the place of linguistics. We have made that our core and there is more technical talk about the linguistic terms "competence" and "performance" than there is about the more general lay terms competency and performance in the classroom. Professionalism, I'm afraid, is being built around topics of possible research, curriculum design, or testing and evaluation. These things are important but surely there is no finer profession than teaching. Possible interactions between students and teachers should be one of the major concerns of ESL programs: How to inspire as well as inform; how to motivate but not manipulate. We should focus on the learner and the environment of learning. Once this core is established, other things can be built around it. There is no question that many ESL graduates will be teacher trainers, materials writers and administrators but they must have experience and knowledge

about classroom teaching if they are to do effective jobs. Our professionalism should be centered around teaching—regular classroom teaching. We need to be reminded that **TEACHERS ARE IMPORTANT**. Teaching is an art and a fine one. I was reminded of this in November 1979 when I visited the People's Republic of China. I was in Shanghai at the Teachers' Normal University. One young graduate student acted as my guide through the campus. He was a most articulate young man and excited about his work. During my discussions with members of the staff, I learned that several former students had been selected as translators for the U.N. after a rigorous testing program of students from all over China. I asked my guide if he had taken the test and his teacher said, "Oh, no, he is much too talented to be a translator. He must become a teacher!" I realized immediately that she was right and that this was the type of professionalism that continues to need development in U.S. graduate programs.

Related to this is the role of the teacher in different parts of the world. I often hear complaints that American graduates don't seem to understand how they should dress, how they should act, what they should expect from their students, or the position they have in the community as teachers. They don't seem to have the professionalism that the locally educated teachers have. Perhaps a seminar is needed for our ESL M.A. candidates so that our graduates can better understand the role teachers are expected to have in other countries.

Mayuri Sukkiwat has reported that the objectives of teaching English are changing in Thailand. That's true in many Asian countries and these changes have significance for U.S. M.A. programs. I am particularly interested in one change. Just a few years ago it was common to find an objective which stated that English was being studied to provide students an opportunity to learn about native-English speaking cultures. Today, this objective has changed to include all peoples and all cultures.

English is being used by non-native speakers to communicate with other non-native speakers. The countries of ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations) use English in their official meetings to represent themselves and their cultures. Japanese businessmen use English in K.L., Malaysia to represent their company's policy. Singaporeans use English to tell others about their "way of life." New literatures in English have appeared from India, the Philippines, the South Pacific as well as Africa—literature written in English by non-native speakers intended for a world audience—not just a native-speaking audience. Braj Kachru has called this "New Englishes in New Contexts" and Guy Amirthanayagam has referred to the literature as "Contact Literature."

M.A. candidates in ESL must know something about these new literatures, the changes in country objectives, and changes in the status of English. To call English a world language and say that it is used more frequently than ever before does not mean we need more of the same from ESL teachers.

To say that the demand for English is higher than ever before does not mean that the demand is for native speaker phonology and for an understanding of only native-English speaking cultures. This has major consequences for teacher training and material development. It may mean that we need to review the place of English as an international language in our M.A. ESL programs.

The question we are discussing is: "Are M.A. Teacher Education Programs Getting the Job Done?" My answer is a qualified "No," but they are more aware of the problems than they have been before and if professionalism among language teachers continues to increase and if our M.A. programs in ESL can better acquaint their students with the changing objectives of English teaching and learning, there is no doubt that the jobs those students undertake will be done and done well.

TESOL and Articulation Between Teacher Training and Public Education

What More Do the Public Schools Want?

Virginia French Allen

Temple University

The topic of this plenary session would not have been proposed when American TESOL was young. In the 1940s, and for many years thereafter, universities were not generally expected to help teachers function in the public schools. University graduate programs in ESL usually followed the Michigan model, which was designed for experienced classroom teachers with little or no knowledge of linguistics. It was a program that reflected the teaching conditions at the English Language Institute in Ann Arbor. There, under the direction of Charles C. Fries, teachers worked with well-motivated university graduates from Latin America, who were preparing for a year or so on some campus in the U.S.A.

Those adult Latin American students at the university institutes could read. Many had extensive English vocabularies. Almost all had a well-bred tolerance for pedagogical trials and errors. Such was the context in which TESOL methodology was born. Out of these roots have come great strengths in the preparation of ESL teachers. But conditions have changed. What new ingredients ought to be added to teacher preparation programs? How can the strengths of existing programs be preserved, while teachers are being more adequately trained for work in public schools?

For a concrete instance, let's consider the case history of a young teacher I'll call Marcia Q. Marcia became interested in ESL through some part-time tutoring of medical interns during a year of futile job-hunting after she had acquired an M.A. in English Literature.

In the university that she chose for her TESOL Master's degree, three courses in Linguistics were required, plus one in TESOL Methods, one in TESOL Materials, and one in Cultural Anthropology. Recommended elec-

¹ This is a condensed version of a series of presentations at the 1980 TESOL Convention, in a plenary session on university programs in relation to needs of the public schools.

tives included Stylistics, Contrastive Analysis, Ethnic Studies, and Communication Theory. At that university, no courses in Education were required or recommended; and the practice teaching entailed a few hours' work each week with wives of foreign students.

Marcia enjoyed teaching the foreign students' wives; and she did so well in her course work that she was the first to be recommended when the Placement Office told her adviser, Professor T., about a job opening in the public schools. A teacher was needed at Elmwood (not the school's real name) where new refugee children had to be blended into the local population of pupils with limited English. The situation sounded ideal for someone with TESOL training, as Elmwood had more speakers of other languages than any other school in town. It was actually two schools, with a K-12 program, and one principal in charge. With the current hue and cry over teacher accountability, the Elmwood principal was anxious to bring the students' English up to grade level with all possible speed. Certainly Marcia's preparation for second-language teaching would be a great help.

But somehow that didn't turn out to be true. When rumors of trouble reached Professor T., he visited the Elmwood school. Marcia had first been asked to teach ESL for the third and fourth grades, the principal said, but the assignment just didn't work out. Marcia "had no idea what to do with children. She didn't know what their interests were, what they were capable of, how to engage them in a learning task." Even more disappointing in view of the principal's expectations, she had "clearly not been trained to teach children to read."

According to the principal, Marcia had then been moved to the high school; but there the students were "walking all over her." She was a nice girl; she seemed to know a lot about the English language. But why hadn't the university prepared her to teach?

Questions related to Marcia's plight are not easy to answer. There are questions about the scope and content of university preparation programs. If a university has just one TESOL program, should it deal with specialized methods courses for teaching on each and every level of the school system? If Yes, how could such a range of courses be supplied?

Should a methods course go beyond language teaching methodology into the domain of general classroom management? How and where had Marcia's co-workers at the Elmwood school been taught what to expect from students at various stages of development? How had they been prepared to bring about learning when relatively unmotivated learners were involved? Obviously Marcia's experience in teaching acquiescent adults (the medical interns and the foreign students' wives) had been counter-productive. Should inexperienced Master's candidates be required to do supervised teaching in public school classrooms? If so, should they be supervised at least in part by personnel of the school concerned? What if there were ideological conflicts between the university faculty (responsible for keeping up with the

latest theories of language acquisition) and the "cooperating teachers" and supervisors in the school system (many of whom had been trained during earlier decades, and were convinced of the rightness of methods which had served them reasonably well)?

If the solutions to Marcia's problems lie even partially in greater cooperation between school and university programs, perhaps public school people should be invited to universities for workshops and demonstrations. Perhaps both universities and public schools could make use of the new TESOL Summer Institutes, for providing certain kinds of teacher preparation beyond the resources currently available on individual university campuses. If specialized methods courses were to be offered by experienced public school teachers at the Summer Institutes, would universities accept academic credits earned in such courses?

There was never a better time to ask such questions—never a greater need for cooperation between universities and the public schools.

What Do Urban Programs Need?

Vicki Gunther

Chicago Board of Education

Having worked for ten years as an ESL teacher and a bilingual program coordinator in Chicago, I believe that educating limited English-proficient students is one of the most challenging tasks of the 1980s. Although my observations are based upon my own experience in a large urban school district, my concerns are similar to those of other public school administrators. In the years ahead, I see four specific needs that we have to address:

- the need for a more integrated, interdisciplinary approach to training both ESL and bilingual teachers;
- the need to more adequately prepare the nonspecialist classroom teacher in teaching linguistically and culturally different children;
- the need to assist public schools in the retraining of other specialist teachers who have traditionally worked with limited English-speaking students;
- the need to strengthen ties between universities and school districts, so that instruction programs can better reflect new knowledge.

Generally, university course-work for bilingual education includes philosophy and history of bilingual education, methods of teaching subject areas, and teaching reading in the native language. While some programs do provide students with a background in general linguistics and second-language learning and teaching, many do not even require prospective bilingual education teachers to take a course in teaching English as a second language (ESL). In Chicago, as in many other cities, the bilingual teachers are often responsible for the English language component of the bilingual education program. This is particularly true in school districts using self-contained rather than "pull-out" instructional models.

In contrast to the bilingual education teacher, who is trained in schools and departments of education, the ESL specialists are most often trained in linguistics departments. Often, their courses are geared to teaching ESL to adults: university students who are highly motivated and literate in their native language. Thus, ESL specialists frequently lack the necessary tools for teaching at the elementary and secondary levels. They may complete a degree program and find that they lack the requisites for teacher certification.

In most urban areas, ESL teachers are working in the context of a bilingual education. Thus, they must understand the goals, objectives, and methods of bilingual education, just as bilingual education teachers must understand ESL.

In the Chicago public schools approximately 90,000 children, 20 percent of the students, are from homes where a language other than English is the primary means of daily interaction. Of these, 32,000 have been identified as limited English-proficient and in need of bilingual education. These figures point up the need for all teachers to have some training in the instruction of linguistically and culturally different children. The training should include an understanding of first- and second-language learning, the philosophy of bilingual education, and theories and methods of multicultural education.

This preparation is especially important in view of the demographic changes occurring today. With the increase in immigration from Indo-China, Cuba, Haiti, and the Soviet Union, limited-English speakers are no longer found in neat groups of 20 or more. We are finding that the traditional models of bilingual education, as stipulated in the Lau guidelines and in federal and state regulations, are not always applicable or manageable. There may be students in a school from 50 different language backgrounds. Obviously, the classroom teacher must be prepared to meet the needs of these teachers. This will require some training of teachers in bilingual education.

A number of public school districts, including Chicago, are experiencing severe financial difficulties. Less money is available for additional specialists to meet the needs of new students. Historically, the speech therapist, reading specialist, and foreign language teacher have worked with the limited English-proficient child. As a result of financial constraints, their responsibilities in this area are likely to increase. A greater burden is being placed upon existing staff who are not adequately prepared to work with limited English-proficient students. Their studies in college must familiarize them with the methods and techniques of ESL, bilingual education, and multicultural education.

The public schools cannot, of course, abdicate their obligation to retrain staff to meet the needs of new students. However, the universities and colleges can play a significant role in inservice education. These are the institutions dedicated to the creation of new knowledge and techniques. Combining the theoretical expertise of the universities with the practical experience of the public schools can bring forth vastly improved inservice education for the teachers now in the schools.

What is required today is a partnership of educators for better training of current and prospective teachers, teachers who will be able to meet the educational needs of the limited English-proficient child.

*What Do Rural ESL Programs Need?*¹

Carolyn Ebel,
BESL Center
New Holland, PA

While there are certainly some areas of training which apply to ESL teaching in all situations, others are particularly required for work in rural communities, because of certain facts about small towns. First, ESL students are likely to be few in any one school, and those few come from various language backgrounds. Usually, too, residents of the surrounding community do not speak any language other than English; they are not oriented toward bilingualism, and they tend to resent outsiders. Unlike urban residents, they do not expect minority groups to be involved in school programs; minority power is generally unheard of in rural areas. Furthermore, administrators have seldom heard of TESOL; they tend to look on the second-language pupil as a temporary phenomenon, believing that with time the problem will go away.

In small towns, the student is isolated from his language and culture not only in the classroom but in the community as well. As a result, his self-concept may be even lower than that of his urban counterpart; and he may tend to rely too much on his ESL teacher.

The rural teacher of ESL (even more than the urban teacher) must deal with multiple levels and age-groups. While not preferred in high-population areas, "pull-out" programs are necessary where ESL pupils are few. The teacher will thus have the child for an hour (or less) a day—or even a week. Often there is resistance from the classroom teacher whose pupil is "missing math for ESL" or disrupting the daily schedule in some other way. Traveling from school to school, the ESL teacher may spend more time on the road than in the classroom; and even during the hours spent in school the teacher's role is often poorly defined. Frequently the entire reading program is his or her responsibility; in other rural situations, the ESL teacher is not a teacher at all but rather a part-time tutor (with all the rights, privileges and status accorded such persons)—paid on an hourly basis with no paid preparation time, no tuition reimbursement for university training, no job security, and perhaps no need for certification in order to hold such a job.

¹ See *University Training Programs: The Rural Context*, p. 139 for an unabridged version of this paper.

How should universities train ESL teachers for work in rural areas? As for content, I ask universities to continue to emphasize the following kinds of course work: the American sound system, materials analysis and adaptation, ESL methods, and introduction to linguistics. In addition, equal attention should be given to contrastive linguistics, contrastive cultures, and teaching reading in the elementary school. (In rural programs, introducing reading to the ESL pupil is the job of the ESL teacher. Even when the school reading teacher is assigned to the task, we often find that a teacher with the usual specialization in reading does not have the tools to help students from other language backgrounds, many of whom have never learned to read in any language.)

Another area of major concern is classroom management. Teachers need preparation for individualized instruction, pupil evaluation, peer teaching, and classroom organization.

I would further recommend that university programs acquaint teachers with curriculum in the elementary school, since ESL teachers in rural areas must get students up to grade level in the content areas. In order to teach language through math, American history, science, and other subjects, the ESL teacher needs to know what is required in the mainstream curriculum.

I would also suggest that universities help prospective teachers examine the unique features of teaching areas and teaching situations. There are certainly curriculum areas that can be generalized, but success in other areas will depend on a teacher's awareness of conditions characterizing various kinds of programs. The teacher should be prepared to examine the existing community, to list the options for program design, and to design an ESL program to fit the needs of a specific community.

I now turn to suggested changes in the structure of university training programs, i.e., ways in which the suggested content could be made available to rural ESL teachers. First, there is a need for short-term mini-courses, to be taken on week-ends or half-days or evenings. (I am not suggesting that the content be reduced, but that the content could be presented in separate units over different time periods.) The traditional three-credit, fifteen-week university courses are not reaching our rural teachers. I think universities have failed to see a need for change here.

Second, I suggest that courses start with the practical and work back to the theoretical. For instance, the sound system material could be included (extensively) in an audio-visual course where the focus is upon using tape recorders and setting up learning stations. In courses with titles such as Materials or Reading, theory could be woven into the practical information that teachers consider immediately useful.

Third, credit for participating in a university-sponsored workshop or mini-course ought to be accepted toward fulfilling the requirements of a Master's program at that university, and/or the requirements for certification. It ought to be possible for a teacher to earn a degree over a reasonable

period of time by attending training sessions on week-ends or evenings on a regular basis.

Fourth, some courses could be packaged into self-instructional units, similar to "Teaching ESL: A Self-Instructional Course Study Guide" (prepared by the New York State Education Bureau of Basic Continuing Education) which has been heavily used by our ESL tutors in Pennsylvania.

Finally, since no university can provide in advance all the skills necessary for any teaching job, there should be increased emphasis on in-service training. Opportunities for staff development and upgrading should be made continuously available. If university people are really interested in preparing teachers for the small towns, they ought to leave their urban campuses for a look at rural needs.

Preparing to Teach in Adult Education Programs

Sadae Iwataki
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Los Angeles Unified School District

The past decade has seen an ever-increasing influx of immigrants from Spanish-speaking and Asian countries. Statistics from the Los Angeles Unified School District alone show that in one week in October, 1979, there were over 52,000 students actively enrolled in its twenty-seven community adult schools. Over 120,000 ESL students were expected to enroll during the year. Only budgetary limitations prevented the District from accommodating more students.

Although the Los Angeles District represents the largest adult education program in the country, this situation is reflected in varying degrees throughout the fifty states. According to estimates submitted by State Departments of Education to the National Association of Public and Continuing Education, the 1979 figures for adult education programs showed 1,380,455 students in ABE, Americanization and citizenship classes, a major component of which is ESL.

Adult education has traditionally been a part-time activity—an evening activity limited by the number of evening hours and the number of nights in a week. Although there is a trend towards the establishment of day classes and day centers, adult teaching can seldom offer more than part-time employment. Consequently, adult teaching personnel today range from the volunteer and paraprofessional (and the person who claims to “speak English, so why couldn’t I teach it?”) to the trained professional who is a graduate of a university TESOL program. All of these persons have one thing in common: they are untrained and unprepared for the *public school* adult ESL program.

What are desirable qualifications for a teacher of ESL to adults? A description of an adult ESL class can graphically delineate some necessary qualities and competencies.

Picture a classroom of some 30 or more students, ranging in age from 18-80. The learners come from heterogeneous language and experiential backgrounds: low educational status, in the main, including some illiterates in the native language, but also a few with high school, college and professional experiences.

Attendance can be irregular, for this is a voluntary, not a captive audience, made up of students whose frame of reference is not the school but their families, their jobs, their outside responsibilities. Enrollment is continuous, with the classes run on an open entry, open exit basis.

Curriculum? Materials? They vary from program to program. Assessment? Placement? Although ability grouping is possible in schools or centers with multiple classes, large numbers of adult ESL students can be found in multi-level one-room classes in isolated locations. The classrooms? In churches, recreation centers, vacant elementary, secondary school bungalows, or classrooms unoccupied at night. All this, indeed, can be a culture shock to the new teacher.

Those who teach ESL to adults need to be made of sturdy stock. They need special qualities of understanding, cultural sensitivity, adaptability, stamina and resourcefulness to help them cope with the realities of the adult ESL classroom. Furthermore, they need to possess full command and knowledge of the subject area—the English language.

It is against this background that the role of university programs for preparing teachers should be discussed.

What can university training programs do for public school adult education programs?

Two-way communication is needed immediately. Dialogues should be initiated concerning articulation of needs and circumstances; and the sharing of resources and information between universities and school districts must somehow be achieved.

Not only can universities then train teachers to fit the needs of the market, but they can contribute expertise in the areas of curriculum concerns, for example. The schools, on the other hand, can provide the arena for research and practical application of new theories and methodologies. Joint participation in inservice, staff development, and institutes can be mutually enriching experiences. Venturing beyond the field of teaching, universities can prepare their students with skills in the areas of school administration, counseling and assessment.

Professional organizations, too, can play an important role in contributing towards the professional growth of adult ESL teachers, through their publications, workshops and conferences.

The scope and potential of adult education are phenomena that have only recently begun to surface. The decline of enrollment in the elementary, secondary, and university programs, among other factors, will no doubt sharpen the national focus on this area in the coming decade.

Adult education in general, and adult ESL in particular, has in the past experienced somewhat reserved acceptance as a legitimate entry in the educational spectrum. But great strides have been made by adult ESL professionals within the past ten years. That the needs of adult education programs are being addressed in this conference session is a testimonial to the tenacious efforts of thousands teaching adults in this country today.

A View from a University

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ESL/Applied Linguistics
UCLA

The four previous papers (Allen, Gunther, Ebel and Iwataki) should be required reading for all designers and administrators of university ESL/EFL programs. Their import lies in the explicit statements of the needs, problems and desires of practitioners of ESL in various domains, and the implicit judgment of the steps that university programs are taking, or not taking, to meet their needs, to help solve their problems, or to cooperate in the fulfillment of their desires.

I think it worthwhile to review here in one place the recommendations and requests embodied in those four presentations as they apply to the university's role. These fall into several loose categories.

1. Universities should prepare teachers in the following areas:
 - a) General linguistics
 - b) Contrastive analysis (linguistic and cultural)
 - c) Language teaching methodology
 - d) English phonology and the teaching of pronunciation
 - e) The teaching of listening skills
2. All of the above are fairly standard offerings in university ESL/EFL programs. The following are less frequently included:
 - a) The teaching of reading to elementary school children (including literacy training)
 - b) Classroom management
 - c) Individualized instruction
 - d) Materials development/adaptation
 - e) Materials evaluation
 - f) Pupil evaluation/assessment
 - g) Pupil counseling
3. The following are even less likely to be found in university ESL/EFL curricula, but were cited in the previous papers.
 - a) Teachers should be prepared to teach ESL through content subjects (math, American history, science and other subjects).
 - b) Teachers should be prepared to provide training (inservice) to non-ESL teachers who teach non-English speaking students.

- c) Teachers should be prepared to negotiate ideological differences with colleagues/administrators.
- d) Prepare teachers to play a significant role in inservice education.
- 4. Also, these rather global suggestions were made regarding the university's role:
 - a) Strengthen ties between universities and school districts so that instructional programs can better reflect new knowledge.
 - b) Prepare teachers for (state) teacher certification.
 - c) Provide ESL teachers with understanding of goals, objectives and methods of Bilingual Education.
 - d) Prepare teachers for public school *adult* ESL programs.
 - e) Prepare teachers to fit needs of the market.

I am certain that these lists would have been extended if time and space had been available to the authors. Furthermore, if an EFL representative had been included in this group, yet another set of demands on university programs would have been presented on behalf of overseas teachers and administrators. However, the lists as stated, are extensive, almost overwhelming looked at from the university's point of view. There is no question that each and every item contained in the lists represents an area of knowledge and expertise that would enhance the effectiveness of ESL specialists. How to develop that knowledge within the dimensions of a one or two year ESL program is the challenge.

Realistically speaking, few graduates of ESL programs will be expert in all of these areas—I know of no one in the field who is; however, I do believe that a very high percentage of the graduates do acquire a solid, broad theoretical basis for a) defining the variables associated with each item and, b) making defensible decisions on the actions that should be taken toward resolving problems associated with each item. To this last statement I hastily except 2b, 2g, 3a, and probably 4b. Of these there is no reason why 2 b and 3a could not become an integral part of most curricula, the others are problematic.

Given this valuable list of real concerns, university curriculum designers might well re-examine their programs as well as their off-campus activities, to see where and how they might better serve their colleagues in the field. However, without wishing to negate at all this last statement, the constraints on university programs must be appreciated. Briefly, in any given university program the ultimate teaching assignments of the students are usually unknown. The possible assignments are at every imaginable level, in every imaginable part of the world, working under every imaginable condition. Furthermore, whatever the students' first assignment upon graduation, during the first decade in the profession, they will have several different types of teaching/administrative positions. Finally, university personnel must divide their attention between dealing with the practical questions of to-

day and the resolution of theoretical questions that will affect the methodology of tomorrow.

The question, then, of cooperation between university ESL/EFL and the practitioners of ESL/EFL is complicated. Clearly the will on both sides is present. There is also evidence that a good number of programs in the United States and abroad have developed excellent, mutually beneficial working relationships. These need to be revealed in TESOL publications and examined so that others might learn from them.

TESOL and Language in American Life

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Stanford University

Shirley Brice Heath
University of Pennsylvania

In the past four years, linguists, anthropologists, historians, sociologists, and educators have shared in a project designed to answer the question "What is the language situation in the USA?" It is the intention of these comments to report the results of that project* with special reference to what it has revealed about the teaching of English to speakers of other languages and the teaching of standard English as a second dialect. We address two primary questions:

- (1) What unique patterns have characterized the situation of English in American life?
- (2) What has the accumulation of information on our language situation revealed about ways in which the US patterns compare with those of other nations?

Answers to these questions have come through a focus on four aspects of the language situation:

- (1) American English and other Englishes, not only those which have developed here in the US and other English-speaking countries, but also those which have spread to nations in which English has become either a second or a foreign language;
- (2) languages which arrived here in North America before English—the American Indian languages and Colonial Spanish;
- (3) languages which have come since English, such as French and German, the Jewish languages, Italian, Slavic languages, Puerto Rican Spanish, and the languages of the Filipinos;

*This paper was prepared and delivered jointly by Heath and Ferguson. Both drew on their experience in the project which led to the book *Language in the USA* (Cambridge University Press, 1980) of which they are the co-editors. Further, Heath drew on her research in the social history of language in the United States, and Ferguson was influenced by his association with the Center for Applied Linguistics when the TESOL profession in the USA was maturing, and by the Center for Applied Linguistics' role in the formation of the TESOL organization.

- (4) the uses of language in medical, legal, educational, and community situations.

Patterns which emerge across these contexts indicate that Americans have in different periods of their history embedded their teaching of English in value systems which have tended to shift (sometimes dramatically) in accordance with social, political, and economic factors. Yet with a remarkable degree of consistency across the two hundred years of our history and the numerous and varied language situations which have existed at different times, Americans have held English to be both tool and symbol of particular types of membership. Sometimes these memberships have been so broad and sweeping as to include the national community. At other times, English, or the use of its standard form, has been promoted as the tool of access to particular literary groups and as the symbol of an elite social background.

Language as Instrument

The first pattern which emerges is *language as instrument of behavior*. From the colonial period until approximately 1850, the views of Americans on the teaching of English reflected an acceptance of language as a flexible tool instrumental in entering particular occupations and gaining entry to a wide variety of social and political roles. During this period, what the historian Daniel Boorstin has noted as the pragmatic bent of Americans prompted them to criticize a language education which emphasized the dead languages, rote recitation, and lessons divorced from real-life situations. All living languages, English included, were tools of access to information in the worlds of business, science, literature, philosophy, and religion. The use of a particular language or dialect was not generally regarded as a symbol of a particular social membership, but as a sign of a pragmatic nature. A good businessman sought to be able to handle accounts in a variety of languages and to meet customers of various language backgrounds. Flexibility in language- and dialect-shifting often made the difference between degrees of success in merchandising in cities such as Philadelphia and Cleveland. Newspapers advertised the services of those who would teach English as a second language along with those who would tutor in German, French, or other languages.

English instruction stressed letter-writing, account-reporting, and conversational skills. Lawyers wishing to become successful in the courtroom were advised to seek tutors who would engage them in conventions which would test their argumentative powers and their creative uses of language. Creativity and flexibility in language use were more admired than adherence to formal rules of grammar and unchanging notions of correctness. There was almost no emphasis during this period on one standard variety of English to be admired above others. To be sure, there was considerable

debate about the characteristics and merits of American English in relation to British English, but a majority of writers argued that a single standard was not a viable possibility in a nation committed to geographic and social mobility.

It is not surprising therefore that American books on the teaching of English published before 1850 argued that the rules of the English language should be learned by observing speakers in real situations and not by memorizing grammar rules in school. Three common themes run through publications on the teaching of English (and other languages) during the period from the colonial years through 1850.

- (1) Any language, in both its spoken and written forms, is best learned in realistic settings.
- (2) All living languages change because every language is a tool, altering and altered by the needs of its speakers.
- (3) The essential advantage of English over other languages is its practical value: its flexibility and multiple functions across a wide variety of speakers and uses.

Americans of this period regarded variation as an expected and even a worthy characteristic of language. The prevalent view was that dialects were justified because they served in-group purposes of communication, and they were used to expand styles of expression, even in American literature. Languages other than English were promoted for their value in community life, international communication, and the national scientific and literary network.

Language as Predictor

After 1850, however, the pattern characterizing the situation of English in American life is one of *language as predictor of behavior*. Laws, materials, and agents for the teaching of English as a second language and the promotion of a single standard of English shifted dramatically. During the century from 1850 to 1950, jokes, repressive codes, didactic texts, standardized tests, and Americanization teams represented language as a predictor of behavior. One's language was the determinant of occupational status, academic knowledge, and "culture" in the popular sense of refined taste, good character, and proper critical and moral judgments. Until the 1880's, bilingualism and bilingual education were accepted, and even fostered in cities such as St. Louis and Cleveland. But by 1880, educational institutions began to prescribe English only. School programs, textbooks, and teacher training came to embody a theme common in the public media: the great diversity in American life must be controlled. And one way of obtaining this control was to insure that all Americans spoke, read, and wrote the American language, so that they could learn and follow the rules of living and being American. Illiterate immigrants were believed to be unpredictable in their behaviors;

they could not read or understand safety rules in the workshops; they could not grasp the American concepts of citizenship; they could use their foreign tongues to protect their ways which seemed so alien to American life. Thus English teachers told their students not only what English *could* do for them as individuals, but what it *should* do for them. It could make their behaviors predictable. Rote lessons, drills, and artificial language-learning situations characterized formal school instruction in English for immigrants and their children. Only some civic and business organizations of the Northeast retained methods from the earlier period which provided lessons based on real-life situations.

Speakers of accented or non-standard varieties of English found themselves ridiculed in the public press, used as examples in textbooks, passed over in educational opportunities, and shunted into low-status neighborhoods and jobs. Blacks and whites from the South, and speakers of Yiddish, Irish, and Italian, for example, found their speech an object of ridicule in theatre, music, and American novels. The ascription of gullibility, low morals, drinking habits, poor taste, laziness, and clannishness went hand in hand with comments on language varieties.

Between 1850 and 1950, the prevalent view in America was that use of standard English by an individual assured others that his behavior was predictable. Listeners judged language correctness by a standard and believed use of that standard was "best for society." This norm was expected to be discovered by all those individuals who had motivations and aspirations which fitted societal judgments. English was a language to be learned by labor, and those who labored would be rewarded. "Good grammar" was lauded in texts as the foundation of sound logic and moral behavior. The basis of this view of language as predictor of behavior was that the nation has a national language which symbolically and instrumentally serves the best interests of society. Certain corollaries of this basic view followed.

- (1) Those wishing to be recognized as good citizens would learn English—in its standard "good grammar" form.
- (2) It was in the best interest of each state to perpetuate the national language and to promote the use of its standard form in reading, writing, and speaking.
- (3) In so doing, the state would help secure an enlightened citizenry.
- (4) In adopting English in its standard form, the individual citizen would secure the fundamental preparation for economic livelihood and political participation.

The laws passed by each state to insure the place of English and the repressive measures taken against foreign language are by now well attested and widely reported.

The view of the predictive value of language still holds today in much educational policy-making and in some legal decisions. For example, in the recent *Martin Luther King Jr. Elementary School Children v. Ann Arbor*

School District decision, the judge reflected this view when he referred to the time-honored societal values derived from having citizens learn to read, write, and speak "the standard vernacular of society."

Return to Diversity

However, since the 1950's, there have been several moves toward a return to the view of *language as instrument of behavior*. The professional organization of TESOL has itself promoted the instrumental values of English and of a standard dialect. Some legal decisions and much social-science research point toward a focus on the nature of language in terms of individual self-fulfillment. Few ESL teachers would today promote the learning of English and its standard form under a rationale which holds that such language choices are for the collective good of the nation. A majority believe language choices should be made because of the value of these speech forms for the expression of the individual. Numerous TESOL publications and researchers, whether their work setting is in university programs for foreign students, bilingual classrooms, or English language arts programs, adopt this view. Recognizing that the learning of a second language or dialect depends on a complex mixture of motivations, personality, skills, and learning situations, many members of TESOL today reiterate the three points made above as characterizing the instrumental view of language in American life held from the colonial period until the 1850's.

The current transition to this older view is one which links the United States in its pedagogical, social, and even legal trends to patterns of response adopted with respect to the teaching of English in many other parts of the world. Today, many nations have responded socially, legally, and politically to the instrumental value of the English language or a particular dialect of English. Some have altered language policies to meet the needs of ethnic revivals and minority language movements. The United States is struggling to find its legal and political position on the role of English and a standard dialect in American life. The outcome of this struggle will depend in part on not only an accumulation of accurate knowledge about the historical and current language situation in the US, but also on a sensitive awareness of how our patterns compare with those of other nations.

The Principal Language

The first point in such a comparison is that English is the principal language of the United States. That may seem an obvious point which hardly needs mentioning, but the nature of the role of English in the USA needs to be specified in an international perspective. The word "principal" is chosen here with some care in order to call attention to a set of facts. English is not the *national* language of the USA in the sense in which many nations have

their own national languages, simply because English is shared with a number of other countries, and the very name of the language reflects its country of origin. In spite of their recognition that American English differs from other kinds of English—other “Englishes” we may call them—Americans do not think of their principal language as a separate language belonging only to their nation. In this way they are protected from extremes of linguistic nationalism which can occur under other conditions.

Also, English is not the *official* language of the USA in the sense that many nations specify their official language or languages in their constitutions or bodies of law. Although the use of English is customary in many official contexts at all levels of government, this use has developed over the years without legal intervention. Even though American attitudes toward linguistic diversity have shifted during the nation's history, they have never led to a legal identification of English as the official language of the nation. The legal possibilities of flexibility in official use remain, with regard both to variation in kinds of English and the use of other languages.

Finally, English is not a *dominant* minority language competing with a number of other languages which claim the loyalties of their speakers. The United States has many speakers of languages other than English, and this situation is likely to continue far into the future. Yet, there is no language which can aspire to replace English as the principal language of the nation, and no languages are viable candidates for carving out territories where they can serve as principal regional languages. Thus the USA can encourage increased use of minority languages in partnership with English without risk of severe political dislocations.

English is the *principal* language of the United States, and not the national or official language, nor a dominant minority language competing with others. The United States has a significant number of speakers of American Indian languages, indigenous to North America, and it has millions of speakers of languages which were brought by immigrants and refugees. The United States also has Spanish as the most important language after English; it was a colonial language present in some areas before the coming of English, and it has been greatly reinforced by people of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, and other Hispanic origins. The English used in the nation exhibits a rich regional, social, and stylistic diversity. But the most striking fact about the language situation in the USA is the role of English as its principal language.

English in the World

A second point is that the English language is used throughout the world in many countries, by many people, for many functions. One could almost say it is the *world's* principal language. The English language has spread by the movement of its native speakers across the globe: every continent now

has mother-tongue users of English. More important in the long run, perhaps, the use of English by speakers of other languages has spread dramatically through such forces as industrialization, trade, colonialism, and the diffusion of scientific, technological, and humanistic knowledge and ideologies. More people acquire English as an additional language to their repertoire than any other language, and more people use English as a lingua franca to communicate across language barriers than any other language. In spite of the natural replacement of English as a former colonial language by other local languages in many educational and governmental spheres of communication, the use of English continues to spread and the demand for knowledge of English continues to increase. The uses of English as a technical language, a language of wider communication, a language of advanced education, and other specialized uses are increasingly integrated into societies and nations of very different economic, political, and social systems.

English has long since ceased to be an exclusively European or even Euro-American language. It is now an African language, a South Asian language, and a language of the Pacific. Accordingly it is changing and growing in response to new needs and new functions. If the native speakers of a language may ever be said to "own" their language, the native speakers of English certainly do not fully "own" their language now, and non-native speakers are likely to shape it even more in the future. The story of the spread of English to its present world status is a fascinating field for sociolinguistic research which is increasingly being explored, as in the volumes on English in different parts of the world in Quirk's English Language Series and the recent volume on *The Spread of English* by Fishman, Cooper, and Conrad. Here it was necessary to make a point of the status of English in the world before we could move to the central topic, the place of TESOL in the USA.

American TESOL

The teaching of English to speakers of other languages has a unique profile in the USA. Both its history and its present situation are unique. Alatis summarizes the story of the profession since the 1940's in his article in the 1980 Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education. Here we draw attention to some important elements in the present situation, in terms of the populations who are taught English and the professional relations of those who engage in TESOL activities. Americans are teaching English to speakers of other languages, or giving professional attention to this task, in respect to four quite different populations: children in American schools, adults in the USA, foreign students in American universities, and people in areas of former or present American political influence. American TESOL activities extend beyond these populations to some extent, but it is these four populations which account for the largest commitment of American TESOL resources.

Millions of children begin school in the United States each year without an adequate knowledge of English, and most of them acquire their competence in English in the course of their years in school. Although many patterns of response to this situation have appeared in American schools, including various forms of bilingual education and special instruction in English, the dominant pattern has been that of "involuntary immersion," in which children are faced immediately with teachers who do not speak their language and instruction which is given exclusively in the medium of English. In recent years, we have seen the revival of bilingual education in the USA and considerable attention given to ESL aspects of school teaching. The fact remains, however, that this component—possibly the largest one—of American TESOL activity is traditionally not seen as a specialized professional activity, and the professionalization of TESOL began elsewhere in the American scene. This contrasts with TESOL practitioners in other countries, who are generally oriented toward teaching in schools and the training of teachers.

Similarly the teaching of English to adult immigrants or native-born Americans of non-English-speaking background has not been a central focus of TESOL professionalism. Traditionally this has been the province of volunteer organizations and business and civic as opposed to governmental institutions. It has been regarded as part of more general educational concerns such as Americanization and the provision of Basic Education. In this respect American TESOL differs from its counterparts in some other nations, such as Australia, where the national government has provided English instruction for immigrants on shipboard en route to their new country, or Israel with its pattern of intensive instruction in Hebrew for newcomers.

It is in the teaching of English to foreign students in American universities and to foreign nationals who come to the United States for programs of technical or specialized training that TESOL professionalism had its chief source in the USA. The TESOL organization now has members representing all aspects of TESOL activity and attempts to meet the needs of a broad spectrum of practitioners and researchers. A significant part of the American "profile" of TESOL, however, comes from the university and specialized agency settings in which TESOL was associated with applied linguistics, the adjustment of foreign students to life in American university communities, and the preparation of teaching materials at the university or specialized training levels. The great strength of this association has been the value placed on research in linguistics, language acquisition, and the nature of specialized instructional needs; the weakness has been the inadequate orientation to the needs of schools, school teachers, school books, teacher training, and curriculum development both for the USA, and the teaching of English in foreign countries. In this, TESOL in the USA differs from the TESOL profile of countries such as Great Britain or the counterparts in other countries of the teaching of French, for example, to speakers

of other languages. In the amazing growth and professionalization of TESOL in the USA, some of the strengths may have been diluted but also some of the weaknesses have been repaired.

American TESOL activities in the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and other areas of American involvement outside the area of the fifty states, have also been an important part of the total picture, and American contributions to TESOL activities continue today although sometimes more indirectly and at a lower level of expenditure than previously. We cannot review here the strengths and weaknesses of the American legacy of English language education in these areas, but we must note the significance of these areas as places where American TESOL specialists learned about other conditions for the operation of TESOL and in turn applied what expert knowledge they had, sometimes in agreement with American educational policies, often in open opposition to them.

One final point remains: the strange shift in American commitment to TESOL overseas. By the 1960's TESOL had become, as it still continues to be, a crucial and expanding worldwide endeavor. During the early 1960's, American commitments of funds, personnel, and expertise to worldwide TESOL were growing in response to expressed needs in many parts of the globe. But toward the end of the decade, these commitments began to diminish, on the part of the national government, private foundations, and various professional and voluntary organizations. Today with increasing demand for English, and specifically for TESOL, at many levels and for many functions, the American commitment has shrunk to less than that of Great Britain. The increased concern for the language of American school children is doubtless part of the explanation, as well as the contraction of other American international commitments, but this shift represents another unique aspect of the American profile of TESOL activities.

American Responsibilities

Two hundred years ago, in 1780, John Adams, writing a letter to a friend, prophesied that "English will be the most respectable language in the world and the most universally read and spoken . . . /it/ is destined to be . . . more generally the language of the world than Latin was in the last or French is in the present age." He was a little off in the timing of his prediction since he thought English would reach its position of eminence in the 19th or even the 18th century. He perhaps gave too great a significance to America's role in the process, since the sole reason he gave was the "increasing population in America, and their universal connection and correspondence with all nations." But basically, his prediction was right; he read the evidence correctly at a time when the evidence was slight and few others agreed with him.

Now, in 1980, English is clearly the principal language of the USA and is very close to being the principal language of the world. The USA is fortunate in that it does not have to struggle to establish a principal language for national communication and its own principal language allows it to communicate widely throughout the world and to have ample access to modern scientific, technical, and humanistic knowledge. Correspondingly, the people of the USA have two sets of language responsibilities.

First, toward other languages.

- (1) The people of the USA have an obligation to encourage the use of languages other than English on the part of communities in the country who have or have had these languages in their repertoire.
- (2) The people of the USA have an obligation to acquire languages other than English to an extent that is adequate for present and foreseeable communication needs between the USA and other parts of the world.

Second, toward English.

- (3) The people of the USA have an obligation to cherish the English language in all its diversity in this country and throughout the world, so that every well-educated American may have basic knowledge of the structure and use of English, the regional, social, and register variation in American English and the place of American English among the Englishes of the world.
- (4) The people of the USA have an obligation to provide full opportunity for the acquisition of English by speakers of other languages within the country. This implies research and teaching in the processes of second language acquisition and in the methods of teaching English to speakers of other languages under differing conditions.
- (5) The people of the USA have an obligation to see that their country plays a major role in meeting the expressed needs of other parts of the world to acquire English.

In these obligations, instruction in English for native speakers of English as well as mother-tongue instruction for languages other than English, and the teaching of English to speakers of other languages as well as the teaching of other languages to speakers of English are all complementary components in the American language scene. They all draw upon the same sources of research findings in the language sciences, the social sciences, and education. In the letter of John Adams, he was advocating the founding of a Language Academy in the USA. Most of us here would not agree with that recommendation, but he was surely right in recognizing the need for scholarly and scientific attention to the problems of the spread of English. No doubt, he would be pleased to see the scope and intensity of the operations of TESOL, and he would applaud renewed American attempts to meet the obligations which flow from the language situation in the nation.

TESOL and Other Professional Organizations: The Language Connection

James E. Alatis

Our panel brings together representatives of major national and international professional language associations:

Harold B. Allen, National Council of Teachers of English;
Reinhold Freudenstein, World Federation of Foreign Language
Teachers' Associations

John Hammer, Center for Applied Linguistics and Linguistic Society of
America;¹

Dale Lange, American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages;
Ramon Santiago, National Association for Bilingual Education.¹

The purpose of our gathering is to discuss the ties which bind us. The panelists have agreed to give brief versions of their perceptions of the relation between their organizations and TESOL—past history, present status and future prospects. As background to their presentations, I would like to present a few remarks on how this panel came to be.

In June 1979, at a meeting of the TESOL Long Range Planning Committee, I threatened to write a paper entitled, 'Collective Omphaloskepsis vs. Organizational Fissiparity' or 'How to Understand Professional Organizations without Losing Your Mind' or 'How to Cope with Splinter Groups without Losing Your Cool.' My central point of concern, obviously, was to be the relative cohesiveness or divisiveness of professional organizations. As I pursued the topic further, I realized that such a paper had the additional advantage of providing the genealogy of TESOL. So felicitous did the idea strike me, that I even set down on paper the opening paragraphs, taking as my stylistic model none other than the Bible, since it is well known that teachers—especially language teachers—suffer from a Messiah complex. In the interests of historical justification, then, I offer the following geneological chart.

¹We regret that the pressure of the publication deadline has prevented the inclusion of written papers in this volume.

'In the beginning was the Word. The Word begat two children: Word and Reason. Word begat the Linguistic Society of America. Reason, in its love of the word (philology), begat the American Philological Society. Now the American Philological Society loved Classical Languages, but denied the birthright of Modern Languages. And so it came to pass that man's love for Modern Languages begat the Modern Language Association. The Modern Language Association had many offspring, among them were its beloved Foreign Languages and Literatures, English Literature, and University Level Studies. However, it denied the birthright of English Language and Secondary and Elementary Level Studies. And so it came to pass that man's love for English Language begat the National Council of Teachers of English, which in its turn loved English as a Native Language, but denied the birthright of English as a Second or Foreign Language. And so it came to pass that man's love for ESL/EFL (even unfavorite sons have nicknames) begat TESOL: an international professional organization for teachers of English as a second or foreign language and of standard English as a second dialect.'

There are branches missing from this family tree, but it is a roughly accurate drawing. I would like to fill in a few more details before turning the panel over to my distinguished assembly.

As I have suggested, TESOL was created out of professional concern over the lack of a single all-inclusive professional organization which would bring together ESOL teachers and administrators at all educational levels. From the outset, TESOL functioned as an inter-organizational and interdisciplinary group. In this country, teaching English to speakers of other languages has always enjoyed a very close connection with linguists and linguistics, and therefore it was only fitting that, in September 1963, Charles A. Ferguson, then Director of the Center for Applied Linguistics, called together an inter-organizational conference to discuss the needs of the field of ESL and EFL (subsequently TESOL). The conference included representatives of various professional organizations, as well as state and federal educational agencies. Originally, a series of five TESOL conferences was planned, each to be directed by a representative of one of the five organizations most directly involved: National Council of Teachers of English, National Association of Foreign Student Affairs, Center for Applied Linguistics, Modern Language Association and the Speech Communication Association. However, other events precipitated CAL's forming a committee (chaired by Sirarpi Ohanessian) to prepare a constitution to serve as the basis for a permanent organization. The constitution was submitted and ratified at the third TESOL conference in New York City in 1966, and the TESOL organization, with Harold B. Allen, President, James E. Alatis, Executive Secretary, and Betty Wallace Robinett, editor of the *TESOL Quarterly*, was born.

Thirteen years later, TESOL and its 52 affiliates accounts for 9,000 members. True to its beginnings, TESOL has maintained its links with other professional organizations. It has developed new associations as the demands

and interests of the field of ESOL have grown and altered. Some of the new links in its chain of professional associations are the Council for Communication Societies (CCS) (itself an association of 27 organizations, among them NCTE, IRA, ASA—now the Speech Communication Association—and the Society of Federal Linguists), the National Association for Bilingual Education (NABE), and most recently, as a result of the deliberations of the President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies (PCFLIS), the Joint National Committee for Languages (JNCL), which is an informal consortium of ten organizations: the AATF, AATG, AATI, AATSEEL, AATSP, ACTFL, ADFL, NFMLTA, NABE, TESOL (and CAL as an observer). The purpose of the organization is to pool its members' resources and experience in developing promotional activities for the benefit of all foreign languages. At its October meeting, the JNCL developed a plan to create a Washington-based liaison office for the language profession. The purposes of the office would be to monitor and seek support for legislative proposals contained in the recommendations of the PCFLIS, to work with governmental and nongovernmental agencies in building a broad base of support for language study, and to ensure representation of language interests in the development of programs in international studies.

I belabor the creation of the JNCL for a particular reason. It is my feeling that the professional language organizations are at a crucial moment in their respective histories. The formation of the JNCL is further proof of one of my pet theories: either we hang together or we hang separately. It is essential that we continue to work together. Charles Ferguson, in an address this morning, underscored the common base of the professional language organizations. He stated that instruction in English for native speakers of English, as well as mother tongue instruction for languages other than English, as well as the teaching of English as a second or other language, as well as the teaching of other languages to speakers of English, are all complementary components of the language training scene. Each component draws upon the same sources of research findings in the language sciences, the social sciences and educational research.

With these thoughts in mind, I now turn over the proceedings to my colleagues, whose reflections on our common past will no doubt assist us to determine our collective future.

TESOL and the National Council of Teachers of English

Harold B. Allen

In an experimental seventh-grade English and Latin class, a good many years ago, I memorized this couplet:

Ecce! Quam bonum, quacumque iucundum,
Habitare fratres in unum!*

I liked it. I believed it. I promptly became ecumenical.

When I began teaching English in 1924 it was natural for me to believe that all English teachers are brothers—and sisters—and should dwell together in one professional company of people. In that same year I began graduate work with a class from the late Charles C. Fries, who confirmed this belief both in conversation and by his soon serving as the president of the National Council of Teachers of English and, a few years later, by his founding the English Language Institute at the University of Michigan.

But reality struck hard blows. Although NCTE sought to include all English teachers from the first grade through graduate school, I soon learned that many elementary teachers are unaware that they do, in fact, teach English. They think they are teaching a number of unrelated disciplines called reading and spelling and writing and punctuation. I learned that many of my university colleagues would not dream of organizing with high school teachers, let alone elementary teachers. Indeed, in other countries no such unifying organization as the Council even exists. When I proposed such an overall union in Iran a few years ago, the reaction of both university and secondary school teachers was that it was unthinkable. The prestige of university teaching is clearly all-powerful. So much for being ecumenical!

But even NCTE, catholic as its membership is intended to be, did not extend practical attention to the teaching of English as a second language. It was in 1957, 46 years after the Council's founding, that an attempt was made to interest the elementary section in studying the needs of the Spanish-speaking children in the Southwest. Nothing came of it. In 1960, however, the Council assumed responsibility for preparing the *English for Today* series, and in 1961 it discovered the lack of hard information about the problem when it sought data from the U.S. Office of Education for an ESL

*Behold! How good and especially pleasing it is for brothers to dwell together in unity!

status study supplementing its report to the Congress, *The National Interest and the Teaching of English*.

Several NCTE leaders debated the next step. One suggestion was that the English section of the National Association of Foreign Student Advisers (NAFSA) could become the core of a new autonomous conference with NCTE, paralleling the Conference on College Composition and Communication. It was felt that such a new group could attract elementary teachers as well. But reality intervened with the experienced fact that most elementary teachers would not expect to find help in NCTE for an ESL problem.

At this time, early in 1963, the NCTE executive committee helped defray the travel expense of Robert Allen of Teachers College to present to NAFSA's English section an official proposal for a joint conference and for exploring possible publication of a journal.

The resulting affirmative reaction was focused by Clifford Prator's thought that the conference should be enlarged so as to include other relevant groups. Charles Ferguson, for the Center for Applied Linguistics, thereupon volunteered the secretariat for what turned out to be the first three of five proposed conferences. There were only three because after the second conference, held in San Diego, the recently-formed National Advisory Council for Teaching English as a Foreign Language (NACTEFL) became impatient in its demand for some kind of membership list of ESL teachers available for foreign assignments. It named a subcommittee charged with moving toward a permanent organization. Robert Hogan, NCTE's associate executive director, drew up a draft constitution. This draft was presented at the third conference in New York City in 1966. Its approval was the birth of TESOL.

The National Council apparently then felt itself free of further responsibility. True, its committee on English as a second language was retained for several years but it did little more than arrange a few convention programs. An executive committee assignment to prepare a document requested by the Commission on the English Language, a do-it-yourself brochure for teachers with only three or four limited English proficiency students, was passed on from chairman to chairman without ever being finished. At length, in November 1978, the committee was split into two committees with new membership. One committee had the original charge, with the result that the needed pamphlet is now in a draft stage. Its appearance, perhaps this coming year, should meet the need expressed in the secondary section of NCTE last year by a request for "guidelines for teaching English to students for whom English is a second language or for whom English is not quite a second language." Since TESOL, of course, has already established such guidelines, I assume that the secondary section's concern is for the teachers targeted by this brochure.

The other new committee, really cooperative since most of its members also belong to TESOL and its two meetings have been at the Boston convention a year ago and again three hours ago in this hotel, was charged with pre-

paring an official NCTE position paper on issues in ESL and bilingual education. The first draft may well be ready for submission at the NCTE convention in Cincinnati next November.

The present draft of this position paper concludes with a hope for future cooperation between TESOL and NCTE not only on the national level but also on the level of the state and regional affiliates. The two national organizations might well collaborate, for example, not only on a second brochure for English teachers that would deal simply with the facts of second language acquisition but also on an anthology of practical articles derived from journal papers and talks at conventions. But it strikes me that perhaps the valuable collusion can be that between affiliates. With encouragement offered a year ago by Ruth Crymes, a beginning has been made in Hawaii, where we have a unique situation in that members have joint membership in the NCTE and TESOL affiliates. Elsewhere I would urge that every matched pair of affiliates set up a joint liaison committee for the purpose of exploring what kind of common action is most appropriate—such as shared programs at affiliate meetings, cooperation in inservice workshops, assistance in establishing liaison in bilingual educational programs, and the like. Such joint effort would be particularly useful in dealing with local and state governmental agencies. Each of the two sister organizations has much to offer the other. Particularly, then, TESOL has expertise to help the English teachers without ESL background or training but with a few students who need some professional attention. Indeed, I'd like to suggest a slight emendation of the Latin couplet, like this:

Ecce! Quam bonum quacumque iucundum

Laborare fratres—et sorores—in unum.

How good it is for brothers—and sisters—to work together in unity!

TESOL and the World Federation of Foreign Language Teachers' Associations (FIPLV)

Reinhold Freudenstein

I think, I can do something which nobody else in this room can do, and I'm going to do it NOW. I am going to speak with *100,000 voices*! On behalf of the international organization that I have the privilege to represent, I bring you the greetings of more than 100,000 foreign- and second-language teachers in almost 100 countries all over the world—and YOU are part of them. Let me say a few words about this organization. FIPLV stands for Federation Internationale des Professeurs de Langues Vivantes—the World Federation of Foreign-Language Teachers' Associations. FIPLV serves associations; there is no membership by individual teachers. This might be one of the reasons why FIPLV—or Fipl-V, as insiders call it—is relatively unknown among classroom teachers, unless they read the *TESOL Newsletter* which regularly informs about FIPLV activities such as essay competitions, round tables, symposia, and international congresses. The membership of FIPLV consists of two categories: multilingual national or regional foreign-language teachers' associations—the American member is ACTFL—and unilingual international language associations—such as TESOL. The Constitution of TESOL says that one of the purposes of TESOL is (I quote) "to cooperate in appropriate ways with other groups having similar concerns." It was mainly on the basis of this statement that TESOL affiliated with FIPLV about 9 years ago. What are the benefits of this affiliation? First of all it gave FIPLV the opportunity to extend its services to another important international language organization. As TESOL is represented in the Executive Committee of FIPLV, your officers are offered the chance to meet regularly with the representatives of other international unilingual language associations, in particular with representatives of the international association of teachers of English as a foreign language LATEFL, FIPF, the international French teachers' organization, IDV, the international association of teachers of German, the international association of teachers of Italian, and AEPE, the Spanish teachers' European association. These international bodies represent different languages but they share enough common

objectives to justify constant consultation, particularly at times when language teaching is confronted with problems which are hard to solve. They include matter of policy, funding, objectives, cooperation, and many more.

Let me illustrate the cooperation between TESOL and FIPLV by giving two examples. The first example illustrates the service and influence of TESOL in international projects; the second example shows how FIPLV tries to represent and protect the interests of TESOL at international language-policy making bodies whose decisions could have—in the long run—far-reaching implications for associations like TESOL.

Last year, FIPLV conducted a Round Table on Teaching Foreign Languages to the Very Young, more precisely: to children aged between 4 and 8. The final list of participants showed that there was no American among the contributors, and so FIPLV approached TESOL and asked for help. Within a very short time TESOL arranged for the participation of one of its members who—I can honestly testify—was a most valuable addition to the Round Table because of the professional know-how and the personal dedication of this TESOL member, Virginia French Allen. By bringing together experienced teachers and specialists in the field of teaching languages to young children, we were able to produce a very practically oriented handbook which contains detailed instructions on how to go about if you wish to set up foreign- or second-language classes for children of pre-school age. If I had more time I could give you many more examples, e.g. the contribution of Mary Finnocchiaro to a symposium on Teaching the Children of Immigrants, or the service of your Executive Secretary, Dr. Alatis, who was the keynote speaker at the 13th International Congress of FIPLV in Lucerne, Switzerland, in 1978. The 14th Congress of FIPLV will, by the way, take place in a country which many of you—I guess—would like to visit because one does not get the chance to travel to that place too often. It is Nigeria in Africa, and the congress takes place in August 1981. Details will be published in the *TESOL Newsletter*. The contributions by TESOL members in the international field help considerably to demonstrate the potentials of your organization, and make it known at places and to people that might not have heard of TESOL before. My second example: 4 weeks ago UNESCO invited representatives of international non-governmental organizations to a discussion of the possibility of promoting the teaching of less commonly taught languages. Now, we all know that this is a subject area which needs to be promoted, for various cultural and pedagogic reasons, but we also know that decisions and recommendations in this respect can—in the long run—seriously damage the value, the influence and the reputation of widely taught languages like English, particularly if these recommendations are given by an international organization like UNESCO. With the help of FIPLV—and I might add here: in the interest of unilingual international language-teachers' associations like TESOL—the following principle was

added to the final document: "The promotion of languages less taught must not be done in any spirit of opposition to the teaching of internationally used languages, at least one of which should be taught to every school pupil." This recommendation will go to the General Assembly of UNESCO later this year, and if it is accepted and approved of, it will eventually be implemented by the governments of all member states of UNESCO. This could bring about radical changes in the educational systems of many countries, because it means in practice that each and every child around the globe has the right to be taught at least one of the internationally used languages—and in many places this will undoubtedly be English.

This, ladies and gentlemen, is one of the ways in which FIPLV can serve TESOL, and—again—if I had more time I could give you many more examples on various levels of influence—from the highly sensitive level of international policy planning in the language field down to the level of the practical needs of the teachers in the classroom. Even though FIPLV cannot offer membership to individual teachers, the individual teacher profits considerably from the existence of FIPLV. Its influence on questions of national and international educational policy helps to secure jobs for language teachers, or even to create new ones. FIPLV sees to it that contacts are established between language associations and thus, after all, between individual teachers.

Future prospects: I would like to see the cooperation between TESOL and FIPLV continue in the same way as in the past, because this is a good basis for further strengthening the ties between both organizations and thus the best guarantee for dedicated service in the interest of the profession.

TESOL and the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL)

Dale L. Lange

ACTFL President, 1980

In order to give a perception of the relation between ACTFL and TESOL, past, present and future, it is first of all necessary to give some information on the nature and history of ACTFL. The American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages was formed in 1967 as an outgrowth of the Foreign Language Program of the Modern Language Association of America. Its purpose as defined at that time was to deal with the needs of foreign language teachers and to serve as a forum on teaching and learning of foreign languages across all educational levels and all languages since there was no single language organization devoted to that task.

ACTFL is an organization of 9,000 members which serves its constituency with a journal publication, *Foreign Language Annals*, an annual volume of the Foreign Language Education Series of which 11 volumes have been published to date and in which English as a Second Language has been represented twice, an Annual Bibliography of Books and Articles on Foreign Language Pedagogy, a materials center, and an annual meeting which will be in Boston (1980) in November, the weekend before Thanksgiving, with post-conference workshops. The TESOL organization is an affiliate of ACTFL and TESOL members may also be members of ACTFL.

Past History

I should like to inject a personal note at this point. In 1964 as a teacher of French and German at University High School at the University of Minnesota, I attended the first ad hoc conference on English as a Second Language; at that time it was my personal feeling that there was much to be learned from broadening my own interest to the teaching of English as a Second Language. My impression of that conference is still very vivid; my interest was not disappointed. This is my third TESOL Conference; I am still not disappointed.

I should also like to make some comments as the current President of ACTFL (1980). From the very beginning of ACTFL, the TFSOL organization has served as an affiliate of ACTFL. It has played a small but virtually important role in the Annual Meeting program with clinics and sessions; its Executive Secretary has generously given of his input in calling our attention to issues relating to TESOL and the profession at large. ACTFL in turn offered ACTFL sessions in 1978 and 1979 at the TESOL Conventions. This year a session is not being offered in order to regularize this offering as part of the normal ACTFL program. In the past it was offered under the generous leadership of another ACTFL President, Howard Altman. It is my concern that it be incorporated into the ongoing ACTFL program at meetings and conferences. We hope to offer a session at TESOL in 1981.

I would characterize the past relationship of TESOL with ACTFL as one which has been positive, vigorous, challenging, rewarding, but not without gentlemanly disagreements and solid professional arguments.

Present and Future

That kind of relationship currently exists and will certainly continue into the future. In fact, it has to remain vital. Our language teaching profession is not necessarily a unified one, but I see two major forces working in tandem to improve the situation, particularly as this profession responds to the Report of the President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies. TESOL and ACTFL have been working together vigorously in cooperation with the Joint National Committee for Languages to open a Washington Liaison Office. This office is intended to keep us informed of actions by the Congress as the Federal Government begins to respond to the Commission report. This office is also intended to keep us informed of the positions and efforts which other professional organizations, specifically those in international studies, may take and launch. The language teaching professional organizations must become involved in this effort. It is my understanding that the TESOL organization is considering a monetary contribution toward the effort of the Joint National Committee for Languages. As a member of the TESOL organization, I certainly want to urge *our* support for that project. ACTFL has already contributed \$10,000 to the effort.

Professor Ferguson's discussion of obligations, that we as U.S. citizens have to both learn other languages and to teach English to those who have a need to learn it, is an important discussion. As members of the language teaching profession we have an obligation to support common goals and common actions. I believe those goals and actions are mutual between TESOL and ACTFL. I would urge that we continue to move ahead, to support each other, and to bring other elements of the language teaching pro-

fession with us so that we can get on with the job that we do best, teaching language, developing materials, and studying the processes of language learning and language acquisition.

TESOL and English for Special Purposes:

The Curse of Caliban

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My text for this morning may seem as remote from ESP as it is possible to be: it is from Shakespeare's *The Tempest* Act I Scene 1 Line 353.

Prospero to Caliban: teacher to pupil:

I pitied thee,
Took pains to make thee speak, taught thee each hour
One thing or other: when thou didst not, savage,
Know thine own meaning, but wouldst gabble, like
A thing most brutish, I endow'd thy purposes
With words that make them known.

Caliban, however, is not a very appreciative pupil. He replies:

You taught me language, and my profit on't
Is, I know how to curse. The red plague rid you
For learning me your language.

Learning me your language! He is not a very accomplished pupil either. I shall come back to this confusion of teach and learn a little later. For the moment let us note that although Caliban is somewhat deficient in accuracy, he seems to have acquired a considerable fluency in the language—particularly when it comes to cursing. But although Caliban may consider this his profit, it was certainly not Prospero's purpose in teaching. What, then, was his purpose? The answer seems quite clear. Earlier in the scene, Prospero is talking to his daughter Miranda:

Prospero: We'll visit Caliban, my slave, who never
Yields us kind answer.

Miranda: I do not love to look on. 'Tis a villain, sir,

Prospero: But, as 'tis,
We cannot miss him; he does make our fire,
Fetch in our wood, and serves in offices
That profit us. What, ho! Slave! Caliban!

Again the profit motive or profit motif. But Prospero's profit and Caliban's profit are in clear contrast. We can be fairly sure that Prospero's purpose was a specific one: to teach Caliban language so as to make him a more effective slave: ESP.

But the pupil proves to be difficult. He has ideas of his own, and these include having designs on Miranda. He has other purposes, so the teaching fails. But he does learn how to curse. How, one wonders, had he managed to do that, since one must assume that cursing did not figure as a function in Prospero's language course. The teaching fails because it does not achieve the specific purpose of subservience; but Caliban succeeds in learning (or acquiring) the language suited to his needs as an individual. He refuses to be confined by the ESP prescribed for him—thereby risking confinement of a different kind: being pegged within the knotty entrails of an oak.

Caliban and Prospero are fictional figures: one is a monster and the other a magician. But they have their counterparts in our workaday world, and they provoke questions of particular relevance to ESP. Consider, for example, this matter of confinement. ESP is generally practised on the basic assumption that it is both desirable and feasible to delimit the language to be learned to match a specification of learner requirements. But is such a delimitation desirable? It may give language teaching a certain air of cost-effectiveness, but does it not also reduce the learner to a kind of commodity? Does it not also imply that his opportunity is delimited to the confines of the particular role for which the language has been specified? ESP could be interpreted as a device for keeping people in their place.

Suppose, for example, that you wished to teach a specific English course for waiters. You might first investigate the language behaviour required of waiters: *Good evening sir, madam; Can I help you?; Might I recommend the halibut* etc. You then incorporate this behaviour into a teaching programme with the intention of turning out English speaking waiters. If you succeed in keeping to the exact specification, you will produce a set of clones: tokens of the same stereotype all programmed to behave alike like robots. There will be no possibility of your waiter expressing any personal idiosyncrasies of behaviour, no chance of witty chat or repartee. Furthermore, your waiter cannot use his English to change his position in life: he has been specifically programmed to fulfill that purpose and not any other. "O brave new world that has such people in't."

But of course you are unlikely to succeed in delimiting language behaviour in this way. Employers have employees, but teachers do not have teachees; they have learners and what learners do is, as Prospero discovered, not entirely predictable. No matter how precisely you specify what is to be taught, the learner will always tend to defy its limitation. Indeed if he does not he will not have learnt anything at all. Sometimes this learning of more than is warranted by teaching will look like deficiency. This is the case with the so-called errors that learners commit—commit: the very word implies

a misdemeanor, an offense against the established order. But these expressions which do not conform to our rules of conduct are of course evidence of an extension from what has been taught. They are teachee failures, but learner achievements.

So pedagogic experience tells us that teaching and learning are not converse terms. 'There needs no ghost come from the grave to tell us this.' What is not so obvious is what should be done about it, particularly in the case of ESP, which seems to depend on learners being confined to teaching specifications. As in other areas of human activity, one is tempted towards the simplicity of extreme solutions. On the one hand, one might insist on the primacy of teaching and try to force the learner into submission so that he becomes a model teachee. On the other hand, one might insist on the primacy of learning and try to reduce the role of the teachers to virtual insignificance.

The first alternative seems particularly pernicious nowadays and one might be inclined to think that its unacceptability is self-evident. But we should be careful of complacency. It is always possible to devise ways of reducing individual initiative to the point of unthinking conformity. There are types of pedagogic and political systems that specialize in it. I had better draw back from the brink of indiscretion and give another literary example. We are still in touch with Caliban and Prospero because the example is from Aldous Huxley's novel *Brave New World*. Here we are introduced to a new teaching technique called hypnopedia (not to be confused with suggestopedia), or sleep-teaching:

'A small boy asleep on his right side, the right arm stuck out, the right hand hanging limply over the edge of the bed. Through the loud grating in the side of a box a voice speaks softly.

"The Nile is the longest river in Africa and the second in length of all the rivers of the globe. Although falling short of the length of the Mississippi-Missouri, the Nile is at the head of all rivers as regards the length of its basin, which extends through 35 degrees of latitude . . ."

At breakfast the next morning, "Tommy," someone says, "do you know which is the longest river in Africa?" A shaking of the head. "But don't you remember something that begins: The Nile is the . . ."

"The Nile is the longest river in Africa and the second in length of all the rivers of the globe . . ." The words come rushing out. "Although falling short of . . ."

"Well now, which is the longest river in Africa?" The eyes are blank. "I don't know."

"But the Nile, Tommy."

"The Nile is the longest river in Africa and second . . ."

"Then which river is the longest, Tommy?"

Tommy bursts into tears. "I don't know," he howls.

Tommy does not learn anything because all he does is to put the teaching input in store without converting it into cognition. But this, you will say, is an extreme, and a fictional extreme to boot. This sort of thing is remote

from the real world. I am not so sure. In Bloom's *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives* reference is made to something similar, to an occasion when Dr. John Dewey asked a class: "What would you find if you dug a hole in the earth?"

Getting no response, he repeated the question; again he obtained nothing but silence. The teacher chided Dr. Dewey, "You're asking the wrong question." Turning to the class, she asked, "What is the state of the center of the earth?" The class replied in unison, "Igneous fusion."

And if we search our consciences, shall we not find that we have ourselves been guilty of similar attempts to reduce learners to the status of teachees, obediently submissive to the patterns we impose on their behavior? There have been times when we have tried to drive out the devil error by means of the incantation of drill with the rigour of the Inquisition: so the orthodox practice of accuracy has been imposed and fluency stifled. And we have at time insisted (have we not?) on the response which exactly matches our expectation and teaching input, allowing no plausible or natural alternative. Answer in complete sentences (so that I can be sure that you have taken in what I have been teaching you). All too often we have had our students dancing on sentence strings like marionettes manipulated by the master puppeteer. Dancing, as it were, to habit formation.

I exaggerate, of course. But the point I wish to make is plain enough, and I think worth pondering on. It is that given the lack of correspondence between teaching and learning, there will always be the temptation to balance the equation by adopting or devising what appear to be more effective *teaching* techniques for controlling behaviour and directing it towards specific objectives. There will always be the temptation, in other words, to try to change learners into teachees.

The other alternative looks more acceptable and seems to be coming into current fashion. Instead of insisting on the primacy of teaching you insist on the primacy of learning. You alter the grammar of the classroom so that the subject of the verb *learn* is in the agentive case and you simultaneously alter the sociology of the classroom so that there is a reversal of rights and obligations. The teacher now adapts his behaviour to learner requirements and not the reverse. It is now he that has to conform and so becomes in a sense, I suppose, a learner.

We should note that this enticing prospect of individual freedom is not without its problems too. It is based, for one thing, on the assumption that learners have the will and capacity to take the initiative required of them, and of course if they do not have these qualities then the opportunity for initiative will itself, paradoxically, become an imposition. There is the assumption, too, that learner regulated activity necessarily leads to more effective learning and that all teacher intervention which changes the course of learner tendency is interference and has negative effects in that it prevents

and does not promote achievement. I am not so sure. One senses in this a sort of Wordsworthian reverence for the untutored mind which it would be wise to treat with circumspection. What if the learner, by reason of natural disposition or cultural conditioning needs the security of control and confinement: he may welcome constraint and may not feel like an unwilling prisoner:

Nuns fret not at their convent's narrow room;
And hermits are contented with their cells . . .

And what if the learner cannot adequately structure his own learning activity but needs to have it organized for him? Left to his own devices, Caliban might never have known his own meaning, might have continued to babble like a thing most brutish. He might never indeed have learned how to curse.

But having noted the temptation of excess we will agree, I think that the learner must be allowed some room for independent manoeuvre: the problem is to know how much and of what kind. The very nature of learning precludes it from being a simple reflex of what is taught. To try to confine the learner to a restricted repertoire of behaviour and furthermore to determine the route he must take to obtain it will be an attempt on his identity as a human being which he is likely to resist. But then what kind of control is the teacher to apply? What principles of course design is he to follow which will guide the learner towards his own effective initiative?

These are questions of concern to TESOL in general of course, and the subject of much current debate. But they have particular significance for ESP. Because on the fact of it, it looks as if ESP is bound to lead towards a pedagogy of teacher imposition. It is after all apparently based on the assumption that once a particular restricted repertoire has been specified as the target objective representing the purposes for which the language is being learned, then this specification will determine what is to be taught. If the teaching works, then the learner will, at the end of the course, have obtained the repertoire he requires. The formula for this pedagogic alchemy would look like this: target objectives equal teacher input equals learner intake equals target objectives. I have already said that it seems to me that this sort of equation is impossible and that attempts to make it balance can only lead to undesirable pedagogic consequences. So what is to be done with ESP? Again temptation beckons towards an extreme position: reject it, write it off, abandon the band wagon. But it would be as well to consider it more closely before being quite so dismissive.

It may after all be possible to conceive of ESP in a somewhat different way—in a way which allows for the reconciliation of teacher and learner roles we are looking for. I believe that there is such a possibility and in the remainder of this paper it is my own specific purpose to explore it.

There are, I think, two questions about ESP which are quite fundamental and which we should enquire into with some care. The first has to do with

target objectives and how they might be specified. What does it mean to specify a restricted repertoire? The second question has to do with the relationship between such a specification and the design of a teaching programme. How is it to be actually implemented as pedagogic practice? The first question is concerned with how one goes about describing language behaviour and the second with how one goes about developing language learning behaviour. It turns out, I think, that the two questions are closely related. But I anticipate.

First the matter of specification. What is one being specific about in ESP? The claim is that one is providing a description of the English required to carry out certain academic or occupation activities. What does this involve? It might involve the identification of specialist vocabulary. We would say, for example, that the English required for students of physics will include words like *neutron*, *magnet*, *force* and *gravity*, as distinct perhaps from *crouton*, *magnum*, *fork* and *gravy* which are words identifiable as belonging to the English required of the waiter. Similarly the English of accountancy will include *credit*, *debit*, and *limited liability*; that of medicine *urate*, *amputate* and *rheumatoid arthritis*. One might then wish to supplement this qualitative account with a quantitative state of word frequency. This in turn will reveal the common occurrence of certain closed system function words, of certain tense and aspect forms and so on, and from here one would naturally be drawn to an investigation of the grammatical properties of different registers of English. And so one might discover without too much surprise perhaps that the English used by waiters, the restaurant register, manifests a high proportion of interrogative sentences, that the English of science exhibits a preponderance of passives. And so on.

What then does all of this tell us? It tells us that, in conducting their business in English, people in certain occupations and academic disciplines typically favour certain words and certain structures. It tells us nothing whatever about their purposes in producing such forms. We are left to draw our own intuitive conclusions about that. It is important to recognize, I think, that to describe a variety of English in terms of lexis and grammar alone is to describe the linguistic by-product of communicative behaviour and not the behaviour itself. What we get is an account of different varieties of usage, different manifestations of the language system which can be used to identify but not to characterize kinds of behaviour. Linguists and language teachers may achieve their purposes by manifesting language in this way, but ordinary human beings in the normal traffic of everyday affairs do not: they put it to use as a handy device for getting things done.

Well now, if this is so, perhaps we should aim at characterizing kinds of language as particular ways of doing things, not as manifestations of linguistic forms but as realizations of communicative functions. So we might focus attention, for example, on the sort of activities which constitute the waiter's daily routine. He has to greet customers on arrival: *Good evening, Sir; Good*

evening, Madam; he has to ask and respond to questions: *Would you care to see the wine list? Would you recommend the prawns in aspic?* he has to suggest: *Would you like to try the haggis on rye?* and so on. Similarly, we might specify certain functions for the student of physics: he has to define, classify, describe, generalize, exemplify and so on. And so we shift our attention from linguistic forms as such and concern ourselves with the communicative functions they are typically used to realize. In this way, we characterize areas of ESP as specific repertoires of communicative competence. O brave new world. A fanfare of trumpets.

But alas for human hopes! Things are not so simple. A consideration of the acts that people perform with their language advances us, I think, some way towards an adequate account of communicative competence, but it stops short of the desired destination. Because what it yields remains a description of successful *outcomes* of a process but not the process itself. We take a corpus of language and analyse it into items and although these may be functional ones like description, explanation, suggestion and not formal ones like interrogative and conditional, they remain items nonetheless. The labels may be different but we still attach them to finished products.

A description of the particular speech acts (or notions or functions) associated with a field of occupational or academic activity is still, then, a post hoc description of language text, the spoken or written result of the *discourse* which represents the actual communicative process. We recognize such acts or functions as the consequences of a successful negotiation of intended meanings. But how is success achieved? How is meaning negotiated? What does the communicative process involve? These are momentous questions. Truths 'which we are toiling all our lives to find'. But let me try to sketch out a rough sort of possible answer. Something along these lines.

The act of communication involves the conversion of abstract knowledge into actual behaviour. When I open my mouth to speak, reach for my pen to write, I have certain information to convey for some purpose or another and I have a knowledge of certain rules of conveyance which I assume is shared by the person I am addressing. These are rules of usage and rules of use which enable me to formulate what I have to say and to associate my intention with conditions for effective social action. So I know the rules for framing propositions and I know the rules for providing these propositions with an intended illocutionary force. But the actual realization of these rules on particular occasions presents problems.

An example. I wish to invite a colleague to dinner. That is my intention and I know that there are certain conditions which have to hold for an invitation to be effective. One of them has to do with his availability, so I might first try and establish that:

Are you doing anything on Friday?

Now how is he to react? I am asking him to provide some information but he does not know why. Perhaps I intend to involve him in extra work, or to make another tedious attempt to convert him to Christianity. So at this point he will be inclined to be cagey:

Well, I'm not sure. Nancy may have plans.

He may actually not be sure what sort of information I want:

I'm teaching the MA in the morning.

No I mean in the evening.

Oh! Well I'm not sure. . . .

Perhaps he *does* recognize my utterance as the first move towards an invitation to dinner and is not sure whether another necessary condition holds on this particular occasion: viz that the prospect is a pleasant one. He may be an enthusiastic gourmet, a fanatic of French cuisine who knows that our religion forbids alcohol and imposes a strict vegetarian diet of boiled cabbage. Perhaps he already has something to do on Friday but may want to know whether what I propose is an improvement.

So both of us are engaged in negotiating the realization of what I want to say and my purpose in saying it. We know the rules but we have to work out how they are to be applied on this particular occasion, we have to employ interactive procedures to achieve our objectives. Every instance of language use presents us with problems of this sort of varying degree of complexity, which have to be solved by tactical manoeuvring. If I want to describe something to you, I have to establish common ground so that my description makes sense. If I want to give you directions, then I have to take bearings, first on your knowledge of the locality: If I want to insult you, I must find out first where you are vulnerable.

This is what I mean by discourse: the process of negotiating meaning by interaction. And communicative competence means the ability to enact discourse and so to exploit a knowledge of rules (usage and use) in order to arrive at a negotiated settlement. It is essentially a capacity for solving problems, not a facility for producing prepared utterances. So if we are going to specify a restricted repertoire, it should be represented as a range of problem solving strategies, involving the contingent use of language, not a collection of items.

What would the relationship be between a specification so conceived and the design of a teaching programme? We come to the second question I posed earlier. If you specify target objectives in terms of linguistic forms or communicative functions you are left with the difficulty of knowing what to do with them. You have extracted these items out of a corpus of language. Now you have to put them back into whatever corpus you feel might be appropriate for teaching purposes. This can result in the most curious hybrids: examples of language which manifest the categories of your analysis but

which have very little implication of utterance, obviously designed for display purposes only.

The croutons are in the soup.

I have a magnet.

There is a neutron in the atom.

The surgeon amputates the limb.

ESP—but the specific purpose here is the teaching of language as an exercise in its own right. The fact is that forms and functions only have *extralinguistic* significance, only take on communicative value, when they figure as elements in purposeful negotiation. When they are isolated from this setting, they simply create their own problems: they do not contribute to the solving of any.

The advantage of focussing on the discourse developing strategies of problem solving is that in this way we preserve the specific purpose of forms and functions. At the same time, we provide for a natural transition from specification to teaching. For it seems to me that learning in general can be understood as the developing capacity for solving problems of one sort or another, of which the different subjects in the school curriculum can be seen as alternative formulations. The procedures used in the learning process do not seem to me to be essentially distinct from those used in the process of discourse enactment. Every use of language, I have argued, involves the exploitation of what one knows for clarifying and solving the problem posed by a new situation, this activity itself serving to extend our knowledge. Language use promotes acquisition just as acquisition promotes use: the relationship is reciprocal. So it is with discourse and learning. Every act of discourse engages the learning process and every act of learning engages the discourse process.

I would argue from this that a specification of target repertoires in terms of problems which will activate discourse processing strategies simultaneously provides a basis for effective pedagogy. What the learner will eventually have to do with his language and the learning process required for achieving this objective are one and the same thing: a capacity for using language to negotiate meaningful solutions. In this view of the matter, learning is a function of normal social behaviour which is facilitated by formal instruction but which develops to be independent of it. The teacher's task is to create conditions which will make him unnecessary: he has to preside over his own declining influence.

But creating such conditions is a tricky business, which is why it cannot be left to the learner's own unaided efforts. It is here, I think, that ESP is at an advantage. For particular areas of language use can serve as a source of *types* of problem which the learner will recognize as pertinent to his concerns and which are therefore likely to engage his interest and his learning. The teacher's task is to identify and analyze these problem types so as to represent them in a range of activities which require the contingent use

of language. Thus an ESP course for prospective waiters would include problems involving repair strategies for clearing up misunderstandings, ways of coping with varying role relationships, and so on. A course for physics students would include problems in logical inference, in information transfer from one mode of communication to another, and so on. But these activities do not confine the student to a narrow repertoire of behaviour since although of particular significance for his specific purposes they call for strategies which activate language learning and use in general.

In ESP, then, the particular problems which are likely to appeal to learner interest and to activate learning can be derived from a consideration of specific purposes. Specification of such purposes, then, becomes a guide not primarily to the selection of language but to the manner of its presentation. The direction of dependency changes: instead of selecting language first and then casting about for ways of presenting it, one would focus on presentation first and then select according to its requirements. Specification becomes a principal of pedagogic methodology. In general TESOL, of course, where there are specific purposes and so no particular problems to offer, the task is to find an alternative source of supply. I have suggested elsewhere that one possibility worth exploring is the methodology of other subjects on the school curriculum, all of which are, after all, concerned with the development of problem solving strategies associated with different aspects of reality ranged on some scale of increasing complexity. Here, I would have thought, is a potential source that would repay some prospecting. If we were to strike it rich, then all TESOL might become ESP. An intriguing thought.

Meanwhile, there is, I think, one important contribution that ESP (conceived of in the way I have proposed) can make to the common cause of TESOL in general. It suggests a way of effacing the division between what happens in the classroom and what happens outside. It offers an alternative to the usual pedagogic practice of reducing reality to a simulated microcosm in which students are ascribed roles which rehearse them for their later encounter with situations in the real world. In the approach to ESP I have outlined, the focus of attention is not on situations as such but on the type of conceptual and communicative problems that they represent, and the solving of such problems will engage strategies which apply to both language acquisition and language use, both within the classroom and in the world outside. The underlying role is always the role of language learner or, equivalently, of language user. There is no distinction between the rehearsal and the real performance.

But now my own performance must close. Time for the curtain. And it seems appropriate to bring back Prospero and Caliban for a final appearance. For Prospero seems to articulate the basic aim of ESP:

I endow'd thy purposes

With words that make them known

But who decides the purposes and who decides how they should be endowed with words? Prospero, the traditional pedagogue, assumes that it is his decision and that Caliban, that shapeless monster the learner, babbling like a thing most brutish, must simply submit to his direction. But Caliban has a mind of his own and succeeds in learning where the teaching fails. And the teacher Prospero is cursed for his pains. Only a story you will say, a work of fiction. Perhaps: but also a useful parable.

TESOL and Second Language Acquisition

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When I was first asked to give this paper, I was told that the theme of the conference was 'building bridges', a theme doubly appropriate—first, because we are meeting in San Francisco and, second, because the organization has grown at an amazing rate. The thousands of us at this conference represent teachers, administrators, reading specialists, bilingual specialists, ABE specialists, second language researchers, and many other subgroups. Bridges need to be built (or at least maintained) to keep the organization together. Over the past few weeks I've spent a good deal of time thinking about this paper and the theme of bridges.

What is the bridge that needs to be built between second language acquisition researchers and the TESOL membership? Should I review for you the basic questions we have asked in our research? I'd wake up in the middle of the night and decide that I should do a survey of all this research literature—first language transfer and interference studies, the optimal age issue, perhaps take Selinker's sources of error as a framework and talk about communication strategies, production strategies, teacher-induced errors, overgeneralization, and so on. But could I do that in an hour? No, it's impossible. In order not to misinform anyone, I'd have to add ten qualifications to every point in such a paper. For optimal age alone, I'd have to qualify everything as an optimal age for foreign language learning, optimal age for immersion learning, optimal age for learning without forgetting the first language or losing part of the first-language proficiency. And I would have missed Mark Patowski's new findings which I just learned about at this conference so I certainly would have misinformed you. I'd have to cover too much. And what kinds of bridges would such an overdose of information help to build?

The next night I'd wake up and decide to take an historical approach. I could tell you about the Golden Age of language acquisition research in Europe in the 1850s, then run through the marvelous multiplication of second language studies in the 1970s. That would be such fun. I could get slides of all the learners—Fantini's son, Celce-Murcia's Caroline, Huang's Paul, Young's Alma, Ravem's Rune and Reidun, Hakuta's Uguisu. Slides of class-

*With thanks to Marianne Celce-Murcia for her comments on the text of this talk.

room groups studied by Lily Wong-Fillmore and Ann Fathman. Slides of bilingual classrooms in Miami, Canada, Los Angeles and elsewhere. We could review studies of children learning two languages simultaneously, children adding a second language, adolescent and adult learners. But I've done presentations like that so many times in so many places that you would probably be bored. You could read all that in my book of readings or in Barry McLaughlin's book on second language acquisition. What would be new? Of course I could talk about the need for both researchers and teachers to begin to recognize that not all children learn easily even in the best of classrooms with the best materials and the best teachers. And I could also talk about children I have observed who have learned in situations where we'd say no learning is probable—in schools with no facilities except benches, no input from native speakers, with untrained teachers or teachers using methods that might seem archaic to us, with materials that most of us would consider in desperate need of revision—and those materials were printed in Braille. Despite all these 'handicaps', some children at each level at this overseas School for the Blind were remarkable language learners.

The one bridge such a talk might start to build is that it would help us to see that research looks at the language learning of real people—real children and real classrooms—rather than the mysterious subjects or informants that we write of in our reports.

The next night (and this isn't going to be a thousand and one nights, in case you wondered), I'd decide that the one most important thing I could do would be to sound a warning to all of you who read our research reports. I could easily spend an hour telling you that you *must* read them with caution. If you have always skipped over the results section (the part with the numbers) and just read the discussion and conclusions, you will perhaps be surprised to learn how often inappropriate design and data analysis completely invalidates the findings. Even more surprising are interpretations which do not even match the reported results.

We have posed so many important questions and what we say in our interpretation of results can influence decision makers who need to decide on curriculum design, materials development, and even when best to begin second language instruction. It's important then that our findings are accurately interpreted and sensitively discussed. But to regale you with a diatribe about interpretation of results in second language research would scarcely help us build bridges. Rather it would widen the gulf.

My next thought was that it might help if I did a scholarly paper on the changes that have come about over the last ten years in research methods. The beauty of case studies, the self-report diary studies, the use of classroom and community ethnographies, and the clear beauty of well-designed experimental studies. That might be nice because I could end with a plea for a multi-method approach to second language research—that we should try to answer each question in several different environments and with more than

one method. It would make us much more confident in our claims about learning. But building bridges between methodologies is a task that Amy Sheldon already managed to take on in a workshop earlier this week at this conference.

The next night I thought I might possibly discuss the models that have been built as the first step towards a theory of second language learning as so nicely done by Diane Larsen-Freeman at the Second Language Research Forum. The models that have been built are important. The work of John Schumann which makes social and psychological factors central to second language learning could have great impact on language policy decisions and language teaching materials. Steve Krashen's on-going model building will surely bring us our first true theory of second language acquisition for his scope is broad enough to encompass our input research, Schumann's social and psychological factors, and the cognitive processes which allow us to form the internal representation of a second language.

But to do that I'd need to work out my own thought first on a psycholinguistic model I'm working on myself and my thoughts on the value of model building and theory testing in general. Perhaps in two or three years I could build bridges between models. Not now.

The matter of bridges seemed to loom even larger as I began to think more and more about the value of second language research to the teaching field. Why do we do it? Is it because we are fascinated with our own learning of second languages and the second language acquisition of our students? Or is it because we feel that by studying learners we can understand our own teaching better, and perhaps even improve it? Perhaps this is the bridge I should talk about today.

I am very aware that lots of people don't see the value of some of our research. Every researcher worries that after she had gone through the research process, written it up, and presented it at a conference like this, everyone in the audience will—at the end of her talk—stand up and in chorus say 'so what?' If we say that learners with strong field independence do better than field dependent learners in language classrooms, what can a teacher do about that? If we say that beginning second language learners subvocalize much more in reading than advanced learners, what can a teacher do about that? If we say that handraising behavior is a good predictor of second language learning, should a teacher tell everyone to raise their hands a lot? Statistically significant results can be truly insignificant to the teacher if there are no immediate possibilities for application. The number of 'so what's' sometimes seems to outweigh the number of insights which could help us in the classroom. It's not surprising, then, that teachers feel researchers are not always concerned with the classroom. They aren't, and I do not believe that they always must be. Almost every research meeting ends inevitably with someone asking: 'What do you know about the classroom? Are you an ESL teacher?' Depending on my mood and the amount of hostility

added to the question, I sometimes respond by asking, 'What do you know about language learning? Are you a second language researcher?' It is these two questions that I would like to talk about now. *That's* the bridge I'd like all of us to walk across—the bridge that connects teaching and research.

The gulf that the bridge must span, I think, is the misunderstanding of what second language research is and who does it.

Who is a researcher? Obviously, a researcher is a scientist, right? As a child I had two great fantasies which are probably shared by everyone brought up on the movies of the early 1940's. First, to be discovered in some corner of Carnegie Hall brilliantly playing my own original composition. The second was to be the discoverer of some great scientific principle. Those of you who watched the PBS special series on Madame Curie know what I mean—a life of hardship but wearing one of those white coats, weighing all those compounds on brass scales and writing numbers in log books. Both fantasies meant a life of hardship and suffering made gloriously worthwhile by creating something of incredible beauty or by discovering truth.

As anyone can tell you, such romantic notions of the discovery of truth and beauty may motivate us but are far from the realities of research just as the movies of the same period (Ethel Barrymore or whoever it was in *The Corn is Green*) about teachers might motivate one to be a teacher but have little to do with the realities of teaching.

The myth widens the gap over which the bridge must cross.

A second myth about researchers is one first shared with me by Elite Olshstein. This is the analogy of research and researchers to the discovery of a new land. First there are the Discoverers who first go out and find a new land and return to tell us all that it's out there. Perhaps Professor Leopold was one such discoverer. He made a dramatic call in the 1930's for us to notice the land. He said that America provided us with endless opportunities to observe the process of becoming bilingual. True, few people heeded the call but eventually a few Explorers went out to identify a number of territories in the land, territories of child bilingualism, territories of language learning of adult immigrants, etc. This encourages Scouts to go out and take a reading on Territory A. Some Scouts fall in love with the territory and never come back to tell us what they have found. Others come back with beautiful gems and sell us on the importance of the work, encouraging others to map ways of finding out more—a research methodology of roads to get from here to there. When the maps are too clear, more and more people are intrigued and rush in to investigate. Soon a traffic cop is needed to re-route the traffic away from all those morphemes studies to some other nearby area. Some researchers take to using helicopters. They survey the field and drop in and out—the hit and run researcher. And there are those who settle in to refine and define and reanalyze the land in great detail. Others bring in groups of workers—student research assistants—to mine some special area. Still others simply watch and copy whatever anyone else does. And

others sit sifting through data with sieves trying to discover the structures which may never emerge.

Again, such a view of research and researchers may have some truth to it but like the notion of a romantic search for truth and beauty, it widens the gap our bridge must cross. When I survey second language research (from my helicopter, of course), it seems to me that something quite different has taken place.

Researchers *haven't* gone out ahead to discover some new land. They haven't tried to find a land and make it safe or ready for teachers. Rather researchers have followed, not led, the language teaching field. Researchers have not told teachers how best to teach, but teachers and the field *have* told researchers what best to research.

Let me give you a few examples. In my own research at the moment, I'm very much interested in discourse analysis, the system underlying communication, how that system is affected by social setting, and what we try to do within communication. From the papers at this conference, this is an interest I share with many other people. I want to know more about how we give compliments, the structure of arguments, how we apologize or turn down invitations. I want to know more about how we as teachers (and how others as well) change or adjust our speech in communicating with second language learners. Who told us to do research in this area? Nobody, of course. But if I'm interested in what the teaching field calls a notional/functional approach to teaching, then I need to research this area. *And* the study of simplified input will also help me understand language adjustments made to child first-language learners, language addressed to deaf students learning English as a second language, and the language of clinicians to persons with variety of language problems. This might eventually allow me to understand more clearly how it is possible that persons do learn second languages outside the classroom as well as within the classroom.

Another example: case studies. Who told any of us to study children outside the classroom? Nobody, of course. But how can we understand classroom learning without wondering about instruction outside the classroom? Who told us to do classroom ethnographies? Again none, but we want to see the classroom process as well.

If you look at the history of our research, you will see that it is the teacher and the field that determined our work and not the other way around. When we all believed in the audio-lingual approach, researchers did contrastive analysis studies of interference and transfer. When the field shifted from teacher-centered or materials-centered instruction to a focus on the learner, the research moved to case studies. When we became convinced that our students made very similar errors regardless of first language membership, the research moved to a study of universals in interlanguage. When language teaching shifted to the need for Individualized Instruction, we began to find more and more research reports on how best to account for the variability

in success rates of groups of learners and individual learners as well. Each shift within the teaching profession has been mirrored by a shift in the research as well.

In fact, just as teachers are beginning to recycle beliefs once again back to seeing value in contrastive analysis and some of the techniques of the audio-lingual approach, we once again have become more interested in trying to test various amendments to the contrastive analysis hypothesis in our research.

Now that I have annoyed fellow researchers by saying we follow rather than lead the field, let me say that, in fact, both teachers and researchers are probably followers. That is, both researchers and teachers are following along in tandem. Together we are following a higher force—the prevailing theories and trends in the social sciences. For example, humanistic trends in the social sciences are mirrored in the trend towards small group work in classrooms and the counseling-learning movement in language teaching. In research it is mirrored in self-report diary studies which focus on personal, psychological and social factors in one's own learning. In other words, I am probably being unfair to researchers by saying we follow. Rather, both researchers and teachers follow the constraints from the larger field.

The researcher, then, is not the Great Scientist nor the Discoverer of new land. She is the person who asks questions about any and all aspects of the second language learning process, whether in or outside the classroom setting. Those questions don't come magically out of the blue. They come from experience in teaching and observing real people learning languages. If you have questions about any aspect of second language learning, *and* if you search for answers to those questions in a *systematic* way, then you are a researcher.

Whether you are recognized as a researcher depends on your willingness to share your questions and your tentative answers with others in the field (or whether you only ask questions and search for answers to please yourself).

Whether you are recognized as a *good* researcher depends on the care you take in defining the questions, the choices you make in pursuing ways to find answers—the systematic ways in which you gather the data to answer the questions—and the appropriateness of ways in which you compile and analyze the information you have gathered. And finally the sensitivity of your interpretation of the findings and the generalizability of the study. Whether you are recognized as a *good* researcher *by teachers* depends on whether your questions interest teachers and whether immediate applications are possible of the findings.

Much research can be done by almost anyone using common sense just as much teaching can be done by almost anyone who is willing to use common sense. But I think almost all of us would agree that it helps to have two other traits: first, a natural gift or motivation to be a good teacher or

researcher; and, second, good training that qualifies one to be a teacher or researcher.

It's true that we can learn how to teach and how to research by trial and error. But common sense should also tell us that learning to teach by trial and error can be a very painful experience. The same is true for research. Training helps us avoid the worst mistakes and helps us see the many options we have open to us in our work. There are always lots of mistakes left over for us to make on our own. We can learn to avoid the worst pitfalls from teacher trainers and from research trainers.

This professional training inevitably leads to widening the gap. Within our profession we hear terms which are useful shorthand for basic concepts (e.g., syntax, phonetics, communicative competence, total physical response, silent way, etc.). Outsiders listening to the conversations going on at this conference must seriously wonder about us. They may even view us with suspicion on hearing us use such terms. We may not know quite what to say when an outsider at the breakfast counter listens to this for awhile, finally asks what we do, and then asks us how we think any refugee could ever learn English because it has words like 'two', 'too', and 'to'.

Researchers, like teachers, have useful shorthand terms for concepts they share. If you are not familiar with the terms, you may seriously wonder about us when we talk about 'the dependent variable,' 'multiple regression,' or 'error free t-units'. And you may also ask questions which completely befuddle researchers. This is because practice and training make researchers and teachers develop different ways of talking and different ways of writing. It's inevitable but it makes our bridge a shaky one to cross.

The bridge is doubly difficult because professional training requires that we share with each other in very different writing styles. Part of the professional training of teachers is to write clearly, to build arguments in a special way, to support assertions with examples, and to give supporting details. This training is part of the preparation for teaching composition to our students.

Part of the professional training of the researcher is the use of a research report format that values brevity. The research question is asked, hypotheses are stated, the research method (subjects, materials and procedures, and data analysis) is outlined. Tables and results are reported, and finally a discussion of findings is given. Researchers can rapidly scan the abstract, pick up the research questions, turn to the results section, read the tables and check the discussion section to see if the interpretation follows from the results.

Such a format makes it possible for researchers to read hundreds of reports very rapidly. But it may also limit the sharing that we can do with each other.

The bridge, then, becomes shaky because whenever we don't understand each other we feel left out. We can react to that with suspicion and even dislike. Many people won't want to put even a foot on such a bridge. That is

a shame since we are all interested in the same questions. We all want to know more about how learners learn and what we can do as teachers to help promote that learning. We are all part of the same field, but how we see the field may be slightly different. For example, this quarter I am teaching a course in contrastive analysis. As the last assignment for the course, I have asked students to gather data on speech acts and speech events. One person is looking to see how native speakers of English use expressives (how we express delight or disgust, etc.) by observing women deciding whether or not to try on dresses in a clothing store. Another is following around patrons at art galleries and logging all the same expressions of disgust and delight. Others are looking at how native speakers tell people that the party is over and it's time to go home, how we rush off when we're late to the movies, how we get rid of people from office interviews, or turn off the salesman. I'm interested in this work because it is research of real language-use data. My students, however, look at the assignment in a very different way. They want to find out how native speakers do these speech events in order to have more convincing materials to use in their classrooms. They see it as immediately translated into classroom materials and I see it as research which may show us another area of contrastive analysis to investigate (how we perform these acts in first and second languages).

As I said earlier, whether one is recognized as a good researcher depends in part on who the viewer is. Teachers sometimes assume that research is no good if it isn't of use in the teaching context. This is not a basic criterion for good research for the researcher. Researchers are, of course, happy when what they do is of use to someone else, but the research can also be of considerable value to the field if it contributes to our understanding of how languages are learned. Both teachers and researchers share this basic goal.

I'd like you to listen to a quote from an author who tried to define science and have you think about whether that definition fits this goal of our field as well. We too have questions (questions about how second languages are learned) and both teachers and researchers are searching for answers to those questions:

A science is not a summation of restless human curiosities about the world nor the resulting processes of search and observation; it is not that occasional gift of the world to cognitive desire known in its private form as understanding and its public form as knowledge. A science is not a cumulative progression of attitudes towards... leading ideas, hypotheses, unifying insights or the testing and codification of these. It is not a collectivity of persons animated by relatively similar objectives, working on more or less common problems, as regulated by roughly uniform traditions of craft and largely shared rules for efficient inquiry.

(Koch, 1959)

Science, Koch says, is not any of these things because it is all of them. Our field is also not any one of these things but all of them. It can also be a progression of fads and fashions both in teaching and research. It is what we

make it. And what we make it depends on our ability to share our questions and our answers with each other—teachers with researchers and researchers with teachers.

Throughout this talk I have spoken of researchers and teachers as though they were miles apart and that a very long bridge would be needed to connect the two. Of course, that's not true. Almost all researchers are teachers and almost all teachers are researchers. Still, the bridge that connects us needs to be shorter and firmer. It seems to me that there are two major ways in which this might be done.

The first possibility is to ask that researchers go their way and teachers go their way. When each side wishes to consult the other, we would develop a group of translators—people who understand teaching and can talk to researchers, and who understand research and can talk to teachers. We would ask our journals to meet our special needs. *Language Learning* and the *Interlanguage Bulletin* and other journals can be used by researchers who want to talk with researchers. The *English Teaching Forum* and *ELT* and other journals can be used by teachers who want to talk with teachers. The *TESOL Quarterly* would then have to act as translator between these journals. This places a tremendously difficult burden on our TESOL Conference organizers and on the editors of our journals for it is here that we gather each year to talk with each other. And it is our journal, the *TESOL Quarterly*, which allows us to share with each other.

This alternative, I think, is one that we are moving towards and I find it very unfortunate. I'd like to recommend the second alternative. That is that each of us make a real effort to understand why others do the things they do, why they find certain questions interesting and not others, why we go about answering questions in certain ways and not others. If every teacher would keep an open mind about research—recognizing that not all of it will be, nor need be, directly applicable to the classroom, this would help. If every researcher would keep an open mind about teaching—recognizing that it is from teaching experience that our most interesting questions have been posed, that our findings may not always be accepted by teachers nor (in many cases) should they be, this would help. That is, every person in the organization must take some responsibility to build bridges between where she is at this moment and where the thousands of others who make up our membership are. Without those bridges, much will be lost.

I want to thank the organizers of the TESOL Conference for asking me to talk to you today. It's given me several sleepless nights which have allowed me to think about many different ways of considering the research in second language acquisition. That's been valuable to me. But it has also been personally helpful for me to begin to consider how my teacher side has directed much of my research and how my researcher side has often failed to communicate back as well as it might have.



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ESL: A Factor in Linguistic Genocide?

Richard R. Day

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The primary motive for ESL programs in the United States is to provide nonnative speakers of English instruction to enable them to achieve competence in English. However, the ESL program in Guam, an American "possession" in the Pacific, is apparently contributing to the death of the indigenous language, Chamorro. One possible way of slowing, and perhaps even stopping, the linguistic genocide of Chamorro is to establish a maintenance bilingual program in which all school children participate.

Introduction

Programs in English as a second language throughout the fifty states are designed to provide instruction to children of limited ability in English. The motivation for such programs stems from a sincere desire to help such children learn English so that they may be able to participate fully in American society, and not be restricted because of linguistic difficulties.

ESL programs in the United States vary greatly, and it is hard to make generalizations. However, most ESL programs involve separating those children of limited ability in English from those with greater fluency in the language. Such separations may be for as few as 15 minutes every day, or they might entail periods as long as half the school day. Then, as the children's competence in English grows, the time spent in strictly ESL programs is reduced, until, theoretically, they do not need to attend ESL classes.

ESL programs are designed for minority children whose first languages are spoken in countries other than the United States—for example, Chinese, Spanish, Ilokano. Since such languages are viable in their native cultures, no concern has been given to the effect which ESL programs has on them. For example, if the descendants of today's Vietnamese boat people who are learning English in the United States do not learn to speak Vietnamese, the Vietnamese language would not become extinct, as long as there is a Vietnam. However, there are a number of societies attached to the U.S. in some political fashion where programs in ESL may be seen as a factor in the demise of indigenous languages. American Samoa, Guam, and the Trust Territory of Micronesia are examples of such entities.

The focus of this paper is on the relationship between ESL programs on Guam, an island in the Pacific Ocean that is a territory of the U.S., and Chamorro, the language of the indigenous people. I contend that ESL may be helping to contribute to the demise of Chamorro. I suggest that a maintenance bilingual education program might be able to slow down, and perhaps reverse, the apparently inevitable extinction of Chamorro on Guam. I conclude with a plea for those of us in the profession to become aware of and accept the responsibility for the results of teaching English abroad.

The Policies of Spain and the United States

The island of Guam was conquered by Spain in the seventeenth century. The Spanish did not subscribe to universal education, although some Chamorro children went to mission schools, where Spanish was the language of instruction. Thus, although the Chamorro language borrowed from the Spanish, Chamorro remained the dominant or main language during the Spanish occupation, which lasted until the end of the 19th century.

In 1898, Guam was ceded to the United States, as a result of the Spanish-American War. From then until 1950, except for a brief period of Japanese occupation during World War II, it was ruled by a U.S. Governor, who was appointed in Washington. Kloss (1977:251) maintains the governor ruled "in the manner of a battleship or a naval base." The Organic Act of 1950 raised Guam to the status of an organized territory, at which time the Chamorros became U.S. citizens. The governorship of Guam became an elective position in 1968. Its locally-elected unicameral legislature has jurisdiction over island matters, with Congress controlling foreign policy and all other affairs.

The status of the Chamorro language has been at issue since American control of Guam. From the beginning, it has been American policy to use the English language wherever possible, and to discourage, even to outlaw, the use of Chamorro. For example, in 1906, the American governor made English the official language for court proceedings, registration of land, and so on. A Guam statute required all government employees to "speak only English during working hours. Other languages are not to be spoken except for official interpreting." (Kloss 1977:252).

The language policy for education followed a similar path. In 1900, the American governor ordered all public education to be under government supervision and expense. School was made compulsory for children between the ages of eight and 14. Instruction was in English. In 1922, Chamorro was prohibited on school grounds and Chamorro dictionaries were collected and burned.

The American view of language and education on Guam, and perhaps for all of its overseas possessions, is best illustrated in an editorial published in the February 1925 issue of the *Guam Recorder*, a magazine written by

Americans from the continental United States.

The basis of progress in Guam must be the English language. The limitations of the Chamorro language must restrict the progress that could be made with that as the only medium of communication . . . It is beyond question that a fluent knowledge of the English language, written and spoken, would be the greatest possible aid to progress in Guam—agricultural, social, business, and in all other ways . . .

This is American territory. It is American to have public schools where only English is taught. Americans have an obligation and such they have never shirked.

The Status of Chamorro and English Today

It is only within the past six years that governmental policies toward Chamorro and English have begun to change. In 1974, an amendment to the Government Code of Guam established Chamorro, along with English, as an official language of Guam. However, English remains dominant, since Chamorro is not required for official records, as is English.

English not only remains dominant in Guam today, but it threatens the future of the Chamorro language. It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss in detail the specific reasons for the loss of vitality of the Chamorro language. Since they have been examined elsewhere (e.g., Topping 1973; Underwood 1977; Day 1979), we will mention only a few of them briefly.

The main reason is the attitude which most Chamorros have towards English. The governmental policies of the first 50 years of American rule have left their imprint on Chamorro society. Many Chamorros believe that English is the key to economic success. If their children do not speak English, then many desirable jobs will not be available to them. As a result, parents encourage their children to speak English, even at home.

This favorable attitude towards English must be contrasted with an unfavorable attitude towards Chamorro. This negative view which many Chamorros hold is based partially on the belief that Chamorro is really not a language—that it is only a dialect, a mixture of the old Chamorro language, Spanish, and English.

This imbalance between the two languages in favor of English permeates Guam. For example, Underwood (1977:12) notes that if people speak Chamorro at a public meeting, they inevitably apologize. Underwood also describes what he calls the "stateside right of imposition" by which a statesider has the right to request that a public meeting be conducted in English.

These attitudes have had serious consequences for the Chamorro language. Many Chamorros believe that it is not necessary to speak Chamorro, and that their children should not learn it. Carol Odo, in an unpublished investigation into the use of Chamorro on Guam carried out in 1972, found

that the majority of Chamorro parents surveyed did not speak Chamorro to their preschool children, and that they wanted their children to learn English, not Chamorro.

A survey on the use of Chamorro and English by children was conducted in July 1979 by four students of mine in a class at the University of Guam. Briefly, they discovered that, of the 61 children studied, 82% had English as their first language, while only 10% had Chamorro as their first language. The remaining 8% were bilingual. Thus what Odo discovered in 1972 seemed to be becoming a reality seven years later.

Topping (1973) claims that, given the current attitudes towards Chamorro and English, the linguistic future is clear: Within two generations, Topping predicts, Chamorro will cease to be spoken on Guam; English will be the language which everyone born on Guam learns and speaks.

ESL and Chamorro

What roles does ESL play in the Chamorro language's seemingly inevitable demise? I speculate that ESL programs may help to reinforce the positive attitudes towards English and the negative attitudes towards Chamorro that I just mentioned. Let me offer several reasons for my speculation.

First, ESL programs on Guam are for those with limited ability in English. This includes most of the immigrant groups on Guam—Koreans, Filipinos, and so on—and the only nonimmigrant group—the Chamorros. Excluded from the ESL programs, of course, is a large immigrant group—the statesiders (Americans from the fifty states).¹ The Chamorros—the indigenous people—are grouped together with immigrants, and all are taught English as a second language. We find Chamorros being treated as immigrants—taken from the classroom and given special language training. This is the way in which most ESL programs operate, as I described at the beginning of this paper. I am convinced that this separating the Chamorro children and placing them with immigrant groups of relatively little prestige lowers the status of Chamorro in the eyes of not only the Chamorros but in the eyes of all the immigrants of Guam, including the statesiders.

Second, ESL programs—by definition—stress the need for English, not Chamorro. Chamorro parents see their children enrolled in ESL programs in school, and they realize, all the more, that Chamorro is unimportant; English is the real thing, the language of power, even on the island of Guam. Of what use is the Chamorro language?

Because of the manner in which ESL programs operate, and because of their target populations, I believe that they contribute to the attitudes which the Chamorros have toward their language and English. These at-

¹ Statesiders as individuals are more accurately transients, not immigrants. As a group, however, statesiders can be seen as immigrants, since, as a group, statesiders will remain in Guam indefinitely. I should thank Nesse Wolfson for bringing this difference to my attention.

titudes, in turn, seem to play a major role in the shift from Chamorro to English on Guam.

Bilingual Education and Chamorro

If ESL may be viewed as a factor in the demise of the Chamorro language, the casual observer might think that bilingual education could help to reverse this language shift. However, as I have demonstrated elsewhere (Day to appear), the first attempts at bilingual education on Guam were so limited as to become part of the problem. That is, bilingual education may have helped to reinforce the positive attitudes towards English and the negative attitudes towards Chamorro, just as I claim the ESL programs have.

Since I have discussed this line of argument in another paper, I do not want to go into it extensively here. I should mention that the initial programs involved only a handful of schools, teachers and students, and were, at best, transitional in nature.

The focus and makeup of bilingual education on Guam changed for the school year 1979-80. During this period, there were approximately 52 teachers serving sixteen hundred students in ten schools. However, the program still remained transitional in nature—it was designed to help children with limited proficiency in English become more fluent in English. It was not designed to help maintain the Chamorro language.

I should mention that a law was recently passed by the Guam Legislature which requires all children in grades kindergarten through sixth to receive Chamorro language lessons. This law was implemented in September 1979, with children in kindergarten, first, and second grades receiving 20 minutes of instruction per day of Chamorro.

As commendable as this action is, one wonders how much language can be learned in 20 minutes. However, it is a step in the right direction, since all children—Chamorro, statesiders, Koreans, and so on—are exposed to the Chamorro language, if only for 20 minutes a day.

Maintenance Bilingual Education and Chamorro

If ESL programs and bilingual education programs which are transitional are ineffective in preventing the shift from English to Chamorro, and may even be factors in this shift, then what alternatives are there? I believe that a maintenance bilingual education program might be an answer. I propose that for Guam a maintenance bilingual education program be established which would place equal emphasis on both Chamorro and English. This would mean a program where all pupils—Chamorro, statesiders, and other immigrants—would go to schools where both Chamorro and English were the languages of instruction.²

²There are some obvious problems with this proposal which would have to be worked out. For example, stateside children who enter high school would require a different program in Chamorro than would stateside children in elementary school.

Having a school system which uses Chamorro and English equally on Guam would mean that both languages were treated equally. This might serve to raise the status of Chamorro and help to change attitudes towards it. Chamorros as well as immigrants might see Chamorro in a different, and positive, way. As a result, the Chamorro language might be given new life.

Conclusion

In concluding, I should note that some of what is presented in this paper is speculation. However, I have been bothered for some time by the implications which the teaching of English abroad may have. What I believe is happening in Guam may also be happening in other parts of the world. For example, are Peace Corps Volunteers who teach English merely teachers, or are they agents of linguistic and cultural imperialism—an imperialism which may conceivably result in linguistic and cultural genocide?

All of us should be aware of our responsibilities as social scientists. We can no more escape the consequences of our actions than can those who helped to develop nuclear weapons. As teachers of English to speakers of other languages, we have to develop a social conscience.

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Bilingualism and Science Problem-Solving Ability

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This paper reports the results of an empirical study of relationships between science instruction directed toward the cognitive skill of hypothesizing and bilingualism. Both subtractive and additive bilingualism are considered. (Lambert 1977). The impact of the two forms of bilingualism is examined for three groups of sixth-grade children who were given the same science lessons in hypothesis formation.

Subjects for this study consisted of one group of monolingual English-speaking children, one of subtractive Italian-English bilinguals, and one of additive Spanish-English bilinguals who had participated in bilingual education programs.

Treatment consisted of twelve science inquiry film sessions and six discussion sessions. Problems were presented through film loops, each depicting a single physical science problem. At the end of each film session the students wrote as many hypotheses for solving the problem as they could during a 12-minute period. These hypotheses were scored on two criteria: the Hypothesis Quality Scale developed by Quinn (1971) and the Syntactic Complexity Formula developed by Botel, Dawkins and Granowsky (1972).

A high positive correlation between hypothesis quality and language complexity scores indicates a close relationship between cognitive and language development for all groups. Results showed that bilinguals scored consistently higher than monolinguals and that additive bilinguals scored higher than subtractive bilinguals. The positive effects of bilingualism found in this study support other research findings (Cummins 1976). Results are explained in terms of Piaget's theory of cognitive development. Implications of this study are particularly relevant for second language and bilingual educators.

Introduction

Studies of the effects of bilingualism on children's cognitive functioning and on aspects of language development have generated a long list of contradictions with the older studies generally pointing to negative effects for bilingualism and those more recently indicating that, on the contrary, bilingual-

lism may be a causal factor in the observed positive effects of an educational program. Such positive effects as development of nonverbal and verbal abilities, cognitive flexibility, and a positive relationship between divergent thinking skills and acquisition of a second language are addressed in recent empirical investigations.

In a benchmark study, Peal and Lambert (1962) obtained results with French-English bilingual children in Montreal and a control monolingual English group that suggested bilinguals may have a more diversified and flexible thought-structure. This study was later replicated by Cummins and Gulutsan (1974) in Western Canada. Liedke and Nelson (1968) and Bain (1974), also conducting studies in Western Canada, found that young bilingual children showed higher levels of concept formation than control groups of monolinguals. More recently, Bain and Yu (1978) in a cross-cultural study with French-Alsacian, German-English and Canadian English-French bilingual children found strong evidence for cognitive flexibility attributable to the bilingual experience of the children. Also in recent studies, Ben-Zeev (1977a, 1977b) has given evidence in research conducted with middle-class Hebrew-English and lower-class Spanish-English bilingual children that both groups can be characterized by distinctive perceptual strategies and more advanced processing in certain verbal tasks when compared with monolinguals. Cognitive strategies of attention to structure and readiness for reorganization applied to nonverbal as well as verbal material in spite of deficiencies in vocabulary and syntax usage for the Spanish-English bilingual relative to a monolingual control group.

Lambert (1977) has suggested that the consequences of bilingualism may be dependent on the dominance relationship of the bilingual's two languages. He distinguishes between additive bilingualism, characterized by the acquisition of two socially prestigious languages, and subtractive bilingualism, characterized by the replacement of one language by another. Relatively few research studies have specifically examined the effects of these types of bilingualism on cognitive functioning. Cummins (1976) has argued that there may be threshold levels of linguistic competence that bilingual children must reach in order to experience the potentially positive effects of bilingualism which exert positive influences on cognitive functioning. This hypothesis assumes that those aspects of bilingualism which exert positive influences on cognitive functioning are unlikely to come into effect until the child has attained a certain minimum or threshold level of competence in two languages. Among findings which provide evidence for the positive influence of additive bilingualism on cognitive functioning are those of Barik and Swain (1976) who found that IQ scores of children who attained high levels of French as a second language in Canadian immersion programs increased over time. As Cummins (1979) points out, this and other studies suggest that the level of linguistic competence attained by bilingual children may act as an intervening variable in mediating the effects of bilingualism on cognitive development. He further argues in favor of a developmental interdependence

hypothesis which proposes that the development of competence in a second language is partially a function of linguistic competence in the second language and partially a function of the linguistic competence already attained in the first language at the time when intensive exposure to the second language begins. Integrating the threshold hypothesis and the developmental interdependence hypothesis, Cummins (1979) proposes a theoretical framework which assigns a central role to the interaction between socio-cultural, linguistic and school program factors in explaining the academic and cognitive development of bilingual children.

It is the purpose of this paper to examine aspects of this interaction in the light of bilingual children's ability to engage in the cognitive processes needed to generate hypotheses or solutions for science problems and to observe the interaction of this ability with linguistic competence as determined through the syntactic complexity of the language used to express these hypotheses.

Quinn (1971) and Quinn and George (1975) demonstrated that monolingual English-speaking children can be taught to form scientific hypotheses of increasingly high quality. Findings from two groups of sixth-grade children in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, one group from an upper middle class suburban socio-economic level (SES-1) and the other from a lower working class urban socio-economic level (SES-2) indicated that this cognitive ability functioned independently of socio-economic status. In a subsequent study with the same population, Kessler and Quinn (1977) found a significant correlation ($p < .001$) between the results of direct instruction in hypothesis formation and written language complexity for both the upper and lower socio-economic groups of monolingual children.

With socio-economic level (SES) identified as a non-significant variable in children's ability to generate increasingly complex scientific hypotheses, Kessler and Quinn (1979) conducted a pilot study using monolingualism and bilingualism as independent variables for studying relationships between the ability to formulate scientific hypotheses and the ability to write increasingly more complex expressions of those hypotheses. Holding SES and experimental treatment constant, results obtained from 28 sixth-graders in an intact classroom indicated that the ability to generate hypotheses favors bilinguals, even when bilingualism is subtractive. The sample included a group of 14 monolinguals and 14 Italian-English bilinguals in the process of replacing their first language (L1), Italian, with English. Both groups were matched on I.Q. scores as measured by the *Otis Quick-Scoring Mental Ability Test, Beta, Form FM*. The mean scores for hypothesis quality and syntactic complexity were significantly higher for the bilinguals.

Within Cummins' (1979) theoretical framework which gives centrality to the interaction of socio-cultural, linguistic and school program factors in explaining the cognitive development of bilingual children, the present study focuses on children from a very low SES experiencing additive bilingualism in the context of school programs. These children participated in bilingual

education programs to facilitate development of the first language, Spanish, while acquiring English as the second language. The hypothesis was proposed that such bilingual children should be more successful in formulating hypotheses as solutions to science problems than either monolinguals or subtractive bilinguals. Furthermore, it was expected that the language complexity for expressing those hypotheses would correlate significantly with hypothesis quality. Because these children were additive bilinguals who had experienced a reasonably good mastery of the first language through bilingual programs in their first four years of schooling, conditions appeared to be present to support findings of other researchers such as Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa (1976) who state that first language development is especially important in such content subjects as science, which requires conceptual or abstract modes of thought.

In view of the positive effects of bilingualism obtained in the pilot study comparing subtractive Italian-English bilingual children with a matched group of monolingual English-speaking children, we hypothesize in this study that additive bilinguals, when taught how to approach science problem-solving situations, will experience greater gains in the quality of their scientific hypotheses and in the degree of their language complexity than their monolingual or subtractive bilingual peers provided that the conditions of the threshold and developmental interdependence hypotheses are met. More specifically, because of the higher degree of bilingualism characteristic of these additive bilinguals, we hypothesize that they will achieve higher scores in the quality of scientific hypotheses generated and in the complexity of language used to express these hypotheses than either their monolingual or subtractive bilingual peers. Additive bilingualism is here operationally defined as the ability to use two languages successfully in school experiences, a characteristic of children who have experienced bilingual schooling for at least four years (K-3). During this period the first language continues to develop while, at the same time, the second language is added. The result is that children who acquire English as a second language in bilingual programs, which provide for continued development of the first language, meet more closely Cummins' conditions of the threshold hypothesis and developmental interdependence hypotheses than second language learners who have not experienced bilingual education.

Subjects

The subjects were 30 Mexican-American bilinguals, SES-3, 14 Italian-English bilinguals, SES-2 and 32 monolingual English speakers, SES-1. The Mexican-American children were first language speakers of Spanish who had acquired English as a second language in school. All were in an intact sixth grade classroom in a low socio-economic neighborhood of San Antonio, Texas, where Spanish functions as the language of the home and

the community. Because district-administered tests indicated they were Spanish-dominant with little or no proficiency in English, they were placed in bilingual education programs at the onset of their formal schooling in kindergarten. Consequently, they participated in a bilingual Spanish-English program for grades K-3 during which the first language, Spanish, continued to develop while the second language, English, was acquired. By grade 6 all instruction was in English, the second language, but Spanish continued to function in peer interactions, in the home and community.

The 32 monolingual English-speaking children were from an affluent suburb of Philadelphia; the pilot group of 14 subtractive Italian-English bilinguals were from a low SES in center-city Philadelphia. According to the demographic information available from census-data, however, the lowest socio-economic group is that of the additive Spanish-English bilinguals in Texas. For purposes of reference, the high socio-economic group of monolingual English-speaking children are SES-1, the lower inner-city subtractive Italian-English bilinguals, SES-2, and the lowest socio-economic group comprised of Spanish-English additive bilinguals, SES-3.

Procedures

The treatment given all the groups in this study consisted of 12 science inquiry film sessions and 6 discussion sessions, each session 40 minutes in length. Each film session, based on a 3-minute film loop depicting a single physical science problem, ended with the students writing as many hypotheses as possible in a rigorously controlled 12-minute period. The individual papers were then scored on two criteria: Quinn's Hypothesis Quality Scale and the Syntactic Complexity Formula developed by Botel, Dawkins and Granowsky (1973).

An hypothesis is defined as a testable explanation of an empirical relationship between at least two variables in a given problem situation. The Hypothesis Quality Scale, Table 1, assigns a numerical value ranging from 0 to 5 for each hypothesis given, with 5 as the highest score awarded for an explicit statement of a test of an hypothesis and a 0-value for no explanation of the problem presented.

In discussion sessions following presentation of the film loops and the writing of hypotheses, the Hypothesis Quality Scale was applied to show the children how to judge their own hypotheses and how to make use of their observations and inferences to generate hypotheses of higher quality. Children in treatment groups consequently learned to distinguish between a 0-value hypothesis as 'Magic did it' and a 5-value one as 'I could test my idea by putting several little bottles with different amounts of water in them in a tub and then see which ones would sink.'

The Botel, Dawkins and Granowsky index of syntactic complexity, derived from transformational-generative grammar theory, takes into account

TABLE I
Hypothesis Quality Scale

Score	Criterion
0	No explanation, such as, a non-sense statement, a question, an observation, a single inference about a single concrete object.
1	Non-scientific explanation, such as, '... because it's magic' or '... because the man pushed a button.'
2	Partial scientific explanation, such as incomplete reference to variables, a negative explanation, an analogy.
3	Scientific explanation relating at least two variables in general or non-specific terms.
4	Precise scientific explanation, a qualification and/or quantification of the variables.
5	Explicit statement of a test of an hypothesis. (An inference is made here that the child who states a test is also able to adequately and precisely hypothesize.)

language development and performance studies as well as experimental data on children's processing of syntactic structures. In applying the formula, syntactic structures are assigned weighted scores ranging from 0 to 3, indicating syntactic maturity or complexity as a function of specific structures rather than sentence length.

At the end of the 18 sessions comprising the treatment, three additional film sessions were presented to elicit hypotheses that were second in order to obtain an hypothesis quality score. This same written data was also scored for syntactic complexity. Hypothesis quality scores and syntactic complexity scores constitute the criterion variables for the present study.

Standardized reading tests were also administered to all three groups in order to have a measure against which the hypothesis quality and syntactic complexity scores might be compared.

Results

Table 2 summarizes results of hypothesis quality and syntactic complexity for monolingual and bilingual children who received instruction in hypothesis formation. The monolinguals are English-speaking children from SES-1; the subtractive Italian-English are from SES-2 and the additive Spanish-English bilinguals, the major focus of this study, are from SES-3.

TABLE 2
Means for Monolingual and Bilingual Experimental Groups

Variable	Monolinguals (N=32)	Bilinguals	
		Subtractive (N=14)	Additive (N=30)
Hypothesis Quality	41.29	48.07	176.00
Syntactic Complexity	79.50	84.21	161.01

The mean for hypothesis quality and for syntactic complexity of the language used to express the hypotheses is higher for both groups of bilinguals. T-test scores indicate that the difference in the means for the subtractive bilinguals and monolinguals for hypothesis quality was found to be significant at the .01 level. For the additive bilinguals when compared with the monolinguals the differences in both hypothesis quality and syntactic complexity scores were significant at the .001 level.

A correlation matrix examines the relationships between the quality of hypothesis scores and level of syntactic complexity of the hypothesis. Pearson product moment correlation coefficients are given in Table 3 for hypothesis quality scores and syntactic complexity scores for the three groups.

TABLE 3
Correlation Coefficients for Experimental Groups

Variable Group	Language Complexity
Hypothesis Quality	
SES-1 Monolinguals	0.71**
SES-2 Bilinguals (S)	0.65*
SES-3 Bilinguals (A)	0.98**

* $p < .01$

** $p < .001$

Hypothesis quality and language development as measured by syntactic complexity correlate significantly at the .001 level for monolinguals, at the .01 for subtractive bilinguals and at .001 for additive bilinguals.

Discussion

In summary, three groups of sixth graders all taught by the same teacher were given the same series of lessons which required them to generate sets of hypotheses to explain the science problems presented under carefully controlled conditions. These written scientific hypotheses formed the data for this study of interrelationships between the quality of hypotheses generated, the level of syntactic complexity in the language used to express the hypotheses, and the variety of linguistic competence of the child. Linguistic competence varied from monolingual English to subtractive Italian-English bilingualism and additive Spanish-English bilingualism.

The significant correlation ($p < .01$) between the quality of hypotheses generated and syntactic complexity for all groups suggests that the cognitive ability to formulate scientific hypotheses and the linguistic competence utilized in their expression involve some of the same deep-seated organizing principles. In other words, it appears that the link between the formation of scientific hypotheses and language acquisition is cognitive development. As conceptual development takes place, one may then expect a facilitating

interaction between the ability to hypothesize and the level of language development. The quality of hypotheses serves as an indicator of levels of linguistic competence, in terms of syntactic complexity.

Three levels of linguistic competence were considered in the present study, ranging from additive bilingualism with two languages sufficiently proficient for successful functioning in both in the school setting, subtractive bilingualism with the second language having replaced the first language in the sociolinguistic context of the school, and monolingualism with no prior experience with a second linguistic code. Results of this study indicate that bilingual children who had experienced the addition of English as a second language to their first language, Spanish, through bilingual education programs out-performed dramatically bilinguals who acquired English as a second language at the expense of their first language, even though the subtractive bilinguals were at a higher socio-economic level than the additive bilinguals. Furthermore, both groups of bilingual children scored significantly higher than their monolingual English-speaking peers.

In the Piagetian sense, one may view instruction in the generation of hypotheses as an attempt to assist the learner in moving to a higher cognitive level of inquiry. Furthermore, Piagetian theory, while not addressing itself directly to relationships between bilingualism and cognitive functioning, makes the claim that linguistic symbolism becomes more useful as a means of representing cognitive operations as the child moves from operational thought to the formal operational stage. Children at the sixth grade level fall into this category according to Piagetian theory. As a result, one may expect a closer relationship between cognitive functioning and language with children in this older age group than for younger children.

In summary, results of this study corroborate other investigations which show a positive correlation between cognitive and language development. This correlation is independent of socio-economic variables, indicating that it is a generalized principle operating for all children. Of particular interest is that this principle applies most completely for children who have achieved a type of bilingualism that adds the second language without loss of the first, less effectively for children who have added a second language at the expense of the first language, and least effectively for monolingual children. Resultant implications for education of monolingual and bilingual children are, indeed, extensive.

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Learner Feedback: A Taxonomy of Intake Control

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Considerable attention has been given in recent years to the role of feedback in language learning. In a number of studies (Chaudron, 1977; Long, 1977; Fanselow, 1978) the focus has been on corrective feedback, i.e., the ways in which teachers inform a learner of the presence and nature of an error.

The present study examines a different kind of feedback, namely, the tactics learners employ to control the nature and pace of teacher input. To investigate these devices, which collectively can be termed "learner intake control," a pair of tasks in referential communication, in which the teacher described, without recourse to gesture, a series of six different graphs¹. Designs in such a way that the learner(s), who had the designs reproduced on an answer sheet, could number the designs in the order in which they are described, was performed in a number of ESL teacher-learner dyads and triads. Learners were encouraged to inform their teacher (in any way they desired) of any difficulties or uncertainties in comprehension.

From an analysis of the transcripts of these taped sessions emerges an empirically-based taxonomy of learner verbal feedback. In the present study, these various feedback devices are discussed in terms of: (1) the general learning styles each may represent and (2) the effect of such feedback on subsequent teacher behavior.

One of the dominant preoccupations within the field of language teaching in recent decades has been the search for ways to translate theory into practice. The abundance of methodologies and techniques proposed and implemented during this time testifies both to this and to the fact that our notions of language, of learning, and of the language acquisition process have undergone radical change. These changes have been widely publicized, of course, and still meet with favor, despite the fact that up to now, no clearly discernible improvement in language teaching resulting from these theoretical advances can be documented.

Many in our field, however, are less aware that in the last decade, equally significant re-orientations have taken place in the focus and methodology of classroom language learning research. These changes have been due in part to the failure of large-scale methodological comparisons to demonstrate the

clearcut superiority of any method, but even more so to the difficulty of conducting such studies. Above all, the changes are a product of the growing conviction that what actually goes on in the language classroom is at the same time one of the least well known but most important factors determining the effect of formal language learning.

The result for classroom language learning research has been a widespread abandonment of the process-product paradigm—i.e., the exposure of two or more subsets of a sample to differential treatment and the measurement of post-treatment achievement—in favor of studies designed to describe and conceptualize the language teaching/learning act based on data derived substantially or wholly from the observation and measurement of actual classroom activity and performance. One research (Long, 1979) has aptly described this change in focus as a movement away from the view of the classroom as an impenetrable “black box” toward the view that classroom activity is precisely what we ought most properly to be investigating.

One result of this new focus has been extensive research in the nature of the language used by teachers in the second/foreign language classroom. A specific concern has been the issue of how teachers adjust their speech in communicating with their less than fully proficient learners. Collectively, “language input” studies (Henzl, 1973, 1978; Gaies, 1976, 1977, 1979a; Steyaert, 1977; Chaudron, 1979) have provided powerful evidence that in the language classroom, teachers make considerable adjustments in the language they direct at linguistically non-proficient learners. These modifications involve phonology, lexis, and syntax, and they vary with a striking degree of precision according to the perceived level of proficiency of the learners.

From the point of view of quantity, however, as well as by other criteria, the primary focus of classroom-centered research in recent years has been the study of teacher-learner verbal interaction: i.e., “the analysis of *initiative* and *response* . . . characteristic of interaction between two or more individuals” (Flanders, 1970, 35). Many who are otherwise unfamiliar with classroom-centered research have heard of one or another of the various systems of interaction analysis used in educational research in general or language classroom research in particular. Certainly the most widely used of these systems has been the one developed by Flanders (1970), but his is by no means the only one. The sheer number of these systems is in itself evidence of the interest in this area; and indeed, in spite of the fact that the dangers inherent in the proliferation of analytical systems and procedures have been pointed out on more than one occasion (Rosenshine and Furst, 1973; Delamont, 1976), the feeling remains strong that in testing a variety of analytical approaches, the research community affords itself the opportunity of identifying and characterizing important phenomena and variables in formal (language) learning.

Although language input research and interaction analysis have each pro-

vided useful insight into the classroom language learning process, it would be a serious error to assume that they investigate necessarily independent phenomena. Indeed, the study reported on in these pages explored an aspect of formal language learning which, I would argue, constitutes a point of convergence between the two. I have labeled this phenomenon, whose importance has been widely implied but which has not been systematically studied, "intake control": i.e., the ways in which learners regulate the manner in which and the rate at which content¹ is transmitted by a teacher.

The linguistic adjustments made by teachers to the language they use in the classroom constitute a set of "input controls" or "filters" whose purposes are to facilitate communication and to maximize pedagogical effectiveness. Whether such input control is effective in achieving these purposes is a matter of speculation, as it is for the similar adjustments made by parents and other adults to the speech they address to children acquiring their first language (Drach, 1969; Ervin-Tripp, 1971; Snow, 1972; Brown, Salerno, and Sachs, 1972; Landes, 1975) and by proficient speakers of a language to the speech they direct at non-proficient interlocutors in "naturalistic" settings (Clyne, 1968; Ferguson, 1975). What *cannot* be assumed—and this point is made repeatedly whenever the limitations of "input studies" are cited—is that what learners actually take in, and the rate at which it is taken in, is determined exclusively by teacher (or other) input control:

The simple fact of presenting a linguistic form to a learner does not necessarily qualify it for the status of input, for the reason that input is 'what goes in,' not what is *available* for going in, and we may reasonably suppose that it is the learner who controls this input, or more properly his intake (Corder, 1967, 165).

I would contend that even if, as Corder (1967, 165) suggests, intake is governed by the "characteristics of (the) language acquisition mechanism," intake control can be observed in the classroom (and presumably in other contexts) by examining the ways in which learners respond to teacher input and negotiate verbal interaction.

A study (Gaies, 1979b) designed to investigate learner intake control provided a description analysis of the feedback provided by language learners during the performance of a pair of tasks in referential communication and the effects of such feedback² on teacher behavior. In the pages to follow,

¹ It must be recognized that in the language classroom, where the target language is not only the vehicle by which information is conveyed, but also a product of the underlying system to be acquired by the learners—as Henzl (1975, 3) says, "an instantaneous application of the subject matter, a model illustrating and reinforcing the information transmitted in the instructional process"—the term "content" refers both to the information transmitted and to classroom language itself.

² In the study in question, the term "feedback," which can be defined as "information on the success or failure of attempts at task performance," could be appropriately applied to virtually all of the learner utterances. Even so, some learner utterances (see below) were not relevant to the task at hand. Therefore, for a broader context, an alternate term (e.g., "learner utterances" or "learner verbal moves") would be more suitable.

I will describe the study briefly (with emphasis on the framework used for classifying learner feedback) and propose an empirically-based taxonomy of intake control.

The data for the study were collected in a total of twelve different ESL dyads and triads. These twelve settings involved six different teachers (Ss). The learners in these settings varied considerably in age, in their purposes for learning English, and, as best as can be ascertained, in their motivation to develop proficiency in the language. No attempt was made to control for these or other learner variables.

In each setting, the activity used to elicit data was a problem-solving task in referential communication: i.e., a task whose completion depended on the imparting of certain information by the teacher to the learner(s). The task required the teacher to describe verbally, without recourse to gesture, a series of six different graphic designs in such a way that the learner(s), who had all six designs reproduced on an answer sheet, could number the designs in the order in which they were described. Two tasks of this kind—one which had been used in an earlier study of the role of feedback in referential communication (Krauss and Weinheimer, 1966) and one designed specifically for the present study (see Figure 1)—were performed in each of the settings.

In preparation for the performance of the tasks, the subjects, who were unaware of the purposes of the experiment, were instructed to inform the learners that this was not a test; in addition, the learners were to be encouraged to request any clarification or re-explanation they felt was necessary for them to complete the tasks successfully. The audio recordings made of these activities indicated that in each case learners were clearly informed that they could provide whatever feedback they felt was necessary.

Transcriptions of the recordings were made in preparation for the analysis of the data. One of the major tasks in the data analysis was the assignment of learner feedback into categories which would represent basic distinctions in the feedback learners provided. A decision has been made *a priori* to establish major categories on the basis of the four types of "pedagogical moves" postulated by Bellack et al. (1966) in their study of classroom interaction. These pedagogical moves, which are labeled "structuring," "soliciting," "responding," and "reacting," were shown by Bellack and his associates to be distributed among the participants in a traditional classroom setting in a highly consistent fashion. The use of these categories in the study of learner feedback was based on the assumption that they could serve as effectively for the classification of learner feedback—which constitutes some proportion of the total verbal activity in the classroom—as they had served for the analysis of classroom discourse as a whole.

With some modifications, this classification framework proved feasible. The system provided a means by which to distinguish among a number of kinds of learner feedback. Learner utterances which are overtly elicited

FIGURE 1
 Designs used in a task in referential communication

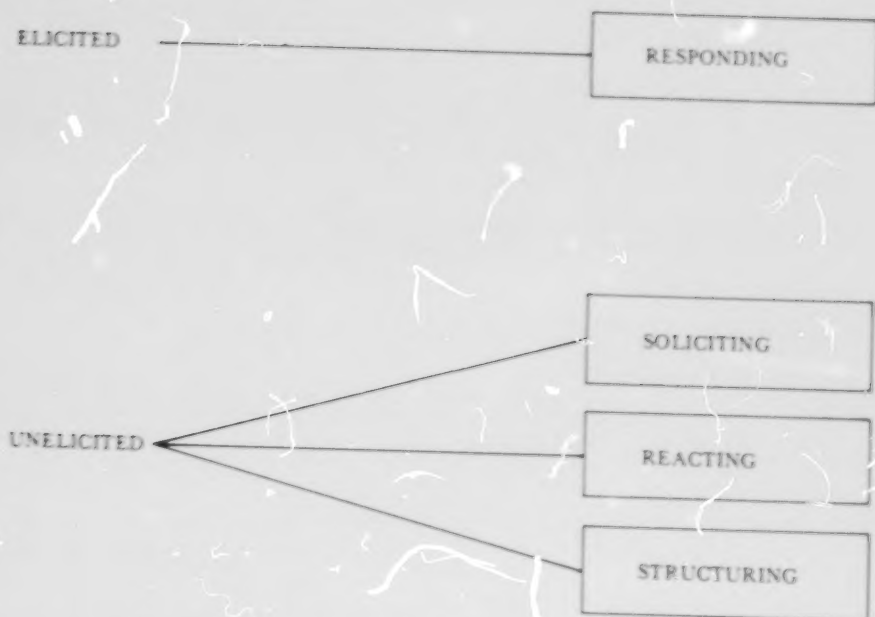


through teacher questions (teacher soliciting moves) can be viewed as feedback essentially different (see Figure 2) from what has been labeled "unelicited" feedback.³ "Elicited" feedback provides a teacher with the means to monitor input decisions. From this point of view, then, learner "responding" feedback serves as a criterion against which a teacher can test an input decision already made.

In contrast to elicited feedback, "unelicited" learner feedback is a primary means by which learners can shape classroom discourse and, in the

³The focus of the study on verbal interaction should not obscure the fact that classroom discourse is shaped and regulated to a large degree by paralinguistic and nonverbal signals. Given this, the reader should recognize that the distinction between verbally elicited and verbally unelicited feedback is a distinction which, however useful it may be, may well be something of a misrepresentation.

FIGURE 2
Basic categories of learner feedback



process, adjust input to their intake ability. Unelicited feedback can be divided into three fundamentally different subtypes: "soliciting" feedback, by which learners attempt to obtain information which they feel is necessary for comprehension; "reacting" feedback, by which learners indicate comprehension or non-comprehension of content⁴; and "structuring" feedback, by which learners attempt to re-orient or define the basis for subsequent interaction. It should be noted here that utterances were assigned to these major categories on the basis of functional properties rather than syntactic features. An interrogative sentence, for example, could be classified as soliciting, reacting, or structuring feedback, depending on its communicative function.

Whereas the basic categories just described were selected in advance for the classification of learner feedback, a number of subcategories were esta-

⁴This definition of "reacting moves" is somewhat different than the one used in the Bellack et al. study. In that study, reacting moves were those utterances which evaluated the correctness and/or appropriateness of other utterances. Here, learner utterances that are classified as "reacting" are also evaluative in nature, but the focus is the *comprehensibility*, rather than the *correctness*, of a preceding utterance which is being judged.

blished on an *ad hoc* basis for the data collected. This set of subcategories constituted an inventory of learner intake control devices and led to the development of the taxonomy of intake control illustrated in Figure 3 and described below:

SIGNALING. By indicating comprehension or non-comprehension, a learner can signal whether input matches intake ability. The signal can refer to either content or rate, or both.

CONTENT: COMPREHENSION.

Comprehension Signal:

Confirmation by Repetition: by repeating a single word or an entire utterance, with or without rising intonation, the learner signals or tests comprehension.

Confirmation by Paraphrase: in statement form, the learner indicates (or in question form, tests) comprehension by paraphrasing a word or utterance produced by the teacher.

(Example: T: ...and then finally the sixth design.

L: The last one?)⁵

(Example: T: Do you know what "worms" are?

L: "Worms"?

T: Yeah.

L: When it's hot?)

Confirmation by Definition: the learner indicates comprehension by defining a word used by the teacher.

Utterance Completion: the learner signals comprehension by anticipating the rest of a teacher's utterance.

(Example: T: But if it's not clear... uh...

L: (We) can ask).

CONTENT: NON-COMPREHENSION.

Non-Comprehension Signal: an overt indication of noncomprehension by a learner, including any such signal made as a response to a teacher question.

Utterance Repetition (Non-Comprehension): signals in this category are distinguished from those classified as "Confirmation by Repetition" (see above) primarily by paralinguistic and accompanying nonverbal signals.

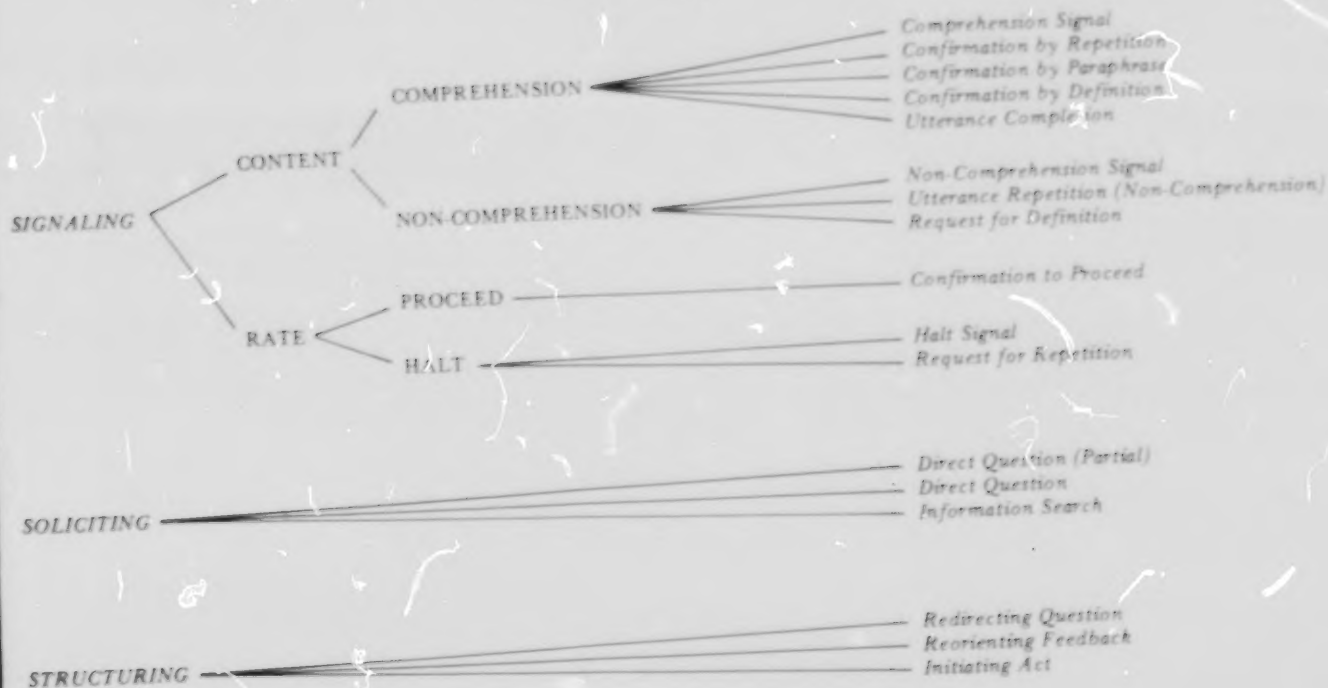
Request for Definition: the learner indicates a specific element in a teacher utterance which cannot be processed.

RATE: PROCEED.

Confirmation to Proceed: the learner interjects, either in the middle of a teacher utterance or between teacher utterances, a signal that the rate of input is acceptable and that the teacher

⁵ All examples are taken from the transcripts. "T" indicates a teacher utterance, "L" a learner utterance.

FIGURE 3
A taxonomy of learner intake control



can proceed; such signals, often verbalized as "O.K." or "uh-huh," also imply the comprehensibility of the content.

RATE: HALT.

Halt Signal: the learner requests a temporary halt to the flow of input.

Request for Repetition: signals in this category are designed to increase the redundancy of the input (to facilitate processing or to check comprehension).

SOLICITING. The questions learners ask provide one of the most widely-recognized indications that they participate in classroom discourse processing. The very act of asking a question alters the rate of input; in terms of content processing, questions can be subcategorized according to the specificity of focus.

Direct Question (Partial): one element of a preceding teacher utterance is focused upon.

(Example: T: You want to put your name on it?

L: Do you want me to write on the paper?)

Direct Question: the focus of the question is on the entire preceding utterance.

(Example: T: . . . actually four, there's one little triangle in the middle and then you have three outside triangles, O.K.?

L: Unconnected?)

Information Search: the focus is on something other than the immediately preceding utterance. The focus may be on information previously transmitted in the communication, or it may be on information not previously dealt with but relevant to the task immediately at hand.

(Example: T: Now I have to collect your answer sheets, and then we go on to the next group.

L: Do you want our name?

T: Oh yeah. Just your initials, just your initials, O.K.?)

STRUCTURING. All intake control devices in this category serve to shift the topic of discourse. To a greater extent than for other forms of intake control, the opportunity for learners to structure interaction is determined by the participant role patterns established in a particular learning setting. A heavily teacher-centered or materials-centered approach, for example, places severe limitations on negotiation of classroom discourse by learners. Nevertheless, even in the context of classroom activities which are primarily involved with the transmission of information by a teacher to learners (e.g., the tasks performed in the study discussed in these pages), intake control is occasionally exercised through the use of one or another of a number of structuring devices.

Redirecting Question: a redirecting question is one which attempts to shift discourse to a different (but related) topic.

(Example: T: . . . And then the last one. By process of elimination you should be able to guess. But just in case, actually it looks like three triangles on the outside and then the way they all come together they form a little one on the inside, O.K.?

L: What is #2?)

Reorienting Feedback: this device is corrective in the sense that it evaluates a teacher's attempt to select content requested by the learner(s).

(Example: T: It's like the shape of an egg.

L: O.K. Circle them?

T: It's not quite a circle, but the shape of . . .

L: I mean. . . what we do?)

Initiating Act: the purpose of this device is to shift to a new topic unrelated to either the specific or general task at hand. Utterances in this category reflect the greatest degree of discourse control assumed by a learner, since they attempt to redefine (at least temporarily) the basis for interaction.

(Example: T: But, but this is related to the moth but it's usually more beautiful. It has many colors, and it's, it's a very lovely . . . insect. Is it an insect? Yeah? O.K. O.K.

L₁: You don't know what's butterfly?

L₂: I'm sorry, I don't

T: Well now . . .

L₁: You know that one I could have shown you, you know. I found one in garbage.

T: You found a butterfly in the garbage can?

L₁: Yeah.

T: Really?)

The taxonomy just outlined is based on the assumption that intake control can be observed by examining the ways in which learners signal comprehension, solicit information, and negotiate classroom discourse topics. These things that learners do provide overt evidence that language data is cognitively processed, that learners monitor and shape the flow of language input. Indeed, intake control devices present us with the best means, if not the only means, to investigate language processing.⁶

⁶ An alternative but problematic approach is through introspective learner diaries; for a rationale and example of such research, see Bailey (1979).

The taxonomy presented is, as I have indicated, empirically-based. The categories were derived from observations of learners engaged in verbal interaction with their teachers for the purpose of performing what was, as far as the learners were concerned, a language learning activity. This, I would contend, provides a fundamental validity to the taxonomy. Nevertheless, I present the taxonomy with a certain degree of caution, for more than reasons of professional modesty.

First of all, the categories selected may not be the best ones; some may obscure as much as they reveal. It should be recognized that any descriptive study is the product of the researcher's biases and expectations, at least to some degree. This is so because we all impose order on what we experience, and the basis of organization is often largely determined by our prior experience. I am not at all convinced that another researcher working with the same data would not have developed a somewhat different classification of intake control. This, however, is a limitation inherent to all descriptive research. The categories chosen to classify data are not observable in the data; rather, they reflect the particular order which the research has imposed on the data.

In addition, the data for this taxonomy were collected in ESL dyads and triads. Interaction patterns in these may or may not be similar to those which would be found in larger learning settings. Whether they are or not is an interesting and eminently testable question. Such research would test the descriptive generality of the taxonomy. At this point, however, I would defend the taxonomy primarily on the grounds that the categories worked effectively on an *ad hoc* basis: i.e., for the data for which they were developed.

Finally, I want to set the taxonomy (as a product of descriptive research) in its proper perspective. The point I wish to make has been made repeatedly of late, but it is of sufficient importance to be restated yet another time. A fundamental purpose—perhaps the fundamental purpose—of descriptive research is to identify variables and possible relationships. In the absence of infallible intuition, descriptive investigation is the necessary prelude to correlational research: i.e., research whose purpose is to measure the nature of the relationship between or among variables. From this point of view, the usefulness of the study discussed in these pages will be reflected by the future research it generates. There are many directions which might be pursued; I will suggest one of them to illustrate the point just made.

It might be argued that the three major categories of intake control—"signaling," "soliciting," and "structuring"—can be hierarchically ordered according to the criterion of "degree of control." By that criterion, "structuring" devices reflect the assumption by the learner of a relatively large degree of control (in the sense that the learner not only seeks out particular information, but also negotiates the topical basis of interaction with the teacher); "signaling" devices reflect the least. One might then investigate

whether the use of these different forms of intake control correlates to any degree with personality and affective characteristics of language learners. Such research would investigate the interrelationship of language, cognition, and personality. The view that research in this area would prove useful is a widely held one (Brown, 1973; Guiora et al., 1975; Tarone, 1977), and the research that has been done along these lines (e.g., Seliger, 1977) has contributed important insights.

This is, as I have said, one of many possible avenues for future research. Whatever the specific direction future research might take, I would suspect that the additional insight gained concerning the nature of learner intake control will prove valuable as we seek to understand the general nature of language learning and the special characteristics of language learning in the classroom.

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Creative Construction and the Case of the Misguided Pattern¹

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The use of prefabricated patterns and routines by L₂ learners has often been observed in research on L₂ acquisition (i.e., Huang and Hatch 1978, Hakuta 1974, Wong-Fillmore 1975). The role of these prefabricated patterns in the creative construction process, however, is an issue of less than universal agreement. (See, for example, Krashen and Scarcella 1978.)

This paper reports on a one-year longitudinal study of an adult learning English as a second language in a natural setting without formal instruction. It focuses on the role of prefabricated utterances in the acquisition process. It maintains that the creative construction process involves the problems of segmentation (Peters 1979) and assignment of function to form (Wagner-Gough 1975).

The study offers evidence that the learner uses prefabricated patterns to solve those problems. It suggests that the assignment of function to form may be an evolutionary process. It also offers evidence that forms which are usually analyzed with a sentence-level syntax are in fact subject to discourse constraints.

It has often been observed in language acquisition studies that children learning first and second languages employ utterances which in the target language would be considered multi-morphemic long before they acquire a facility to use the individual morphemes in those utterances in a way consistent with the target language. It is usually assumed that these utterances are learned as unanalyzed wholes. But the role of these utterances in the process of generating creative language is an issue of less than universal agreement. The current paper looks at the relationship between form and function of prefabricated patterns in the interlanguage of an adult and suggests a model

¹ This paper is dedicated to the memory of Ruth Crymes, who was always very supportive of her graduate students and colleagues, no matter how unorthodox their approaches sometimes appeared to be. At the same time, she demanded of herself and her own work a standard of excellence that I hope my own work can someday approach. I would like to thank Bonnie Davis, Ann-Marie Stauble, Ann Peters, and Dick Schmidt for their comments on an earlier version of this paper. I would also like to thank Diane Larsen-Freeman and Carlos Yorio for their comments during the discussion session following the presentation of the paper at the 1980 TESOL Convention. I alone, however, assume responsibility for the ideas found herein.

of language acquisition somewhat different from those presented elsewhere in the literature on prefabricated utterances.

In first language acquisition, Brown (1968) has observed the use of sentences like *What's that?* in the speech of Adam, Eve, and Sarah long before they acquire the preposing transformation of wh-question formation. On the basis of this observation, Brown speculates that children "learn a certain number of recurrent sentences as unanalyzed routines, as, in effect, longer words." (1968:283) He points out that in analyzing these routines, we must not assume "that a child's utterance which is, from the adult point of view, a sentence with a certain kind of internal structure, must have that same structure for the child, nor even that it need be a construction for him." (1968:282) In practice, however, Brown goes much further. He assumes that these sentences do not have any structure. Thus, he begins his analysis of wh-question at Level III, where "we begin to find evidence that an underlying grammatical network was in the process of creation." (1968:283) Similarly in Brown and Hanlon (1970), the assumption is made that the routines *What's that?* and *What doing?* have no internal structure and do not qualify as constructions.

In second language acquisition research Huang and Hatch (1978) report that their informant Paul used memorized utterances such as *get out of here* and *goodbye, see you tomorrow* in situations identical or similar to the ones in which he learned them. But they seem to take the position that there are two separate processes in language acquisition, rule formation and memorized utterances, and that both are used to form a grammar.

Hakuta (1974) distinguishes between prefabricated routines, which are sentences memorized as wholes, and prefabricated patterns, which contain at least one slot for substitution. While he notes the use of both in his informant's speech, he leaves open the question, "To what extent do these routines and patterns facilitate or hinder the acquisition of the target grammar?"

Fillmore (1976) notes the use of prefabricated routines and patterns, which she calls formulaic utterances, in the interlanguage of her informants. From these formulas, smaller units are segmented. There are analyzed, as demonstrated by the appearance of "a variety of forms in a grammatical slot within the formulaic construction." (1976:312) She claims that "the strategy of acquiring formulaic speech is central to the learning of language. Indeed, it is this step that puts the learner in a position to perform the analysis which is prerequisite to acquisition." (1976:640)

Krashen and Scarcella (1978) reject this model of language acquisition as a predominant one. Instead, they prefer one in which "prefabricated routines may evolve into patterns, but at the same time, independently, the creative construction process develops. This implies that in some situations, propositional language may 'catch up' with automatic speech: that is, the language acquisition process may 'reanalyze' patterns and routines as creative

constructions." (1978:284)²

In an attempt to reconcile the two views, Peters (1979, 1980) describes what she calls the initial segmentation problem, which she likens to the problem faced by a cryptographer who, when faced with an "undeciphered text which has no markings for word or sentence breaks, must figure out where meaningful divisions occur." (1979:5) She proposes that:

early formulaic productions, which have hitherto been seen as anomalous, can be viewed simply as evidence that a child has broken into the language system by isolating at least some units of a somewhat larger size (from the linguists' point of view), and that this accomplishment will not necessarily lead to a generative dead-end, but via formulaic breakdown can feed directly into the acquisition of the knowledge necessary for producing creative language. (1979:2)

Although the data from the present study suggest that formulaic expressions are isolated from the stream of speech and used by adults learning second languages, there is no evidence for the kind of breakdown of the internal structure of the formula described by Peters.

Another problem at least as central to the acquisition process as the segmentation process is that of assignment of function to patterns and other forms. This is a problem which, as Wagner-Gough (1975) points out, has received little attention in second language acquisition literature. She attributes this relative lack of interest in function in interlanguage research to the examination of a given form only in its target language obligatory contexts. Similar points have also been made by Andersen (1977, 1978) and Huebner (1979). However, even when analyses of functions of forms have been attempted, there has been confusion between interlanguage forms and target language forms. Thus, Wagner-Gough and Hatch (1975:302) discuss "the function of the progressive in Homer's speech," referring to forms such as *I my going*, *I'm find*, and *Msty going*, presumably because in English the progressive consists of a form of the verb *to be* and a verb plus *ing*, and the assumption is that the examples cited also consist of a form of *be*, a verb plus *ing*, or both. Perhaps a more insightful approach would have been to examine only the function of the *my* form, or the *verb+ing* form, without reference to the target language category "progressive."

The present study looks at the patterns *waduyu X?* and *X isa Y*. Both exhibit all of the characteristics of formulaic utterances listed in Peters (1980:11-14). These patterns are examined in all of the contexts in which they appear in the texts. On the basis of the forms' distributions, their functions are extrapolated. The study suggests that new forms are learned in isolation and that the functions which are assigned to them are not the same as the functions of the patterns in the target language. This process of form before function has been noted in creole continua by Bickerton (1975) and has

²Dick Schmidt (personal communication) has pointed out that processes do not analyze and that if the learner "reanalyzes" patterns and routines as "creative construction" the difference between this position and Fillmore's is not clear.

been a point of speculation in interlanguages (see Wagner-Gough 1975:157, for example).

Furthermore, the evidence from the pattern *waduyu* X? suggests that the function of the patterns undergo reanalyses over time as new forms are introduced, with the implication that the assignment of function to form may be an evolutionary process. The evidence from the patterns *X isa Y* shows how it is sometimes necessary, when identifying the function of a form, to go beyond a sentence-level grammar to discover that function.

Table 1 shows examples of information questions as they appear over the span of the study. At the time of Tape 1, *waduyu* is, to quote Brown, a "kind of dummy element, an algebraic 'x', standing in the place of a particular constituent of the sentence." (1968:280) It is used not only when the object is the constituent in question, but also for questions in which the information sought is the means by which an action is performed (corresponding to English *How . . . ?* questions), the cause of the particular action or state (as in English *Why . . . ?* questions), and the location of the action (corresponding to English *When . . . ?* question).³ Examples of these are listed beside Tape I in Table 1. The only other information question to appear at this time is *ha?*, used to mean 'I don't understand'. Yes/no questions are indicated simply by a rising intonation. There is no evidence of auxiliary fronting.

The question word *wai* first appears, in isolation, in Tape II (see sentence c. in Table 1). It is used in an appropriate context and the response indicated that the informant understood the function of the form. But at Tape IV, *wai* is used in variation with *waduyu* in questions about cause (sentences d. and e. of Table 1), indicating some uncertainty about the relationship between the two forms. From the time of Tape V to the end of the study, *waduyu* is no longer used for cause questions with second person subjects. Instead, the informant uses *wai* plus the proposition (as in d.), without any inversion of what in Standard English is the tense carrier.

Meanwhile, however, *waduyu* continues to be used for the remaining functions. The one exception to this involves the question form *waea*, found in the only locative question of Tape V. This listed in f. in Table 1.⁴ At the time of Tape VII, however, there is still evidence of *waduyu* being used for these types of questions. See, for example, k. in Table 1. But by the time of Tape VIII, *waduyu* has lost out to *waea* for location questions with second person topics. The pattern *waduyu* does not appear in these environments again during the duration of the study.

³ Unfortunately, all of the *wh*-questions up to the time of Tape Six have second person agents, so it is not possible to tell the degree to which the pattern *waduyu* has been factored into *wadu* plus *yu*. Although *yu* does occur elsewhere in the early tapes as a pronoun, zero anaphora is also used with great frequency. *Wadu*, however, never occurs with any subject other than *yu*.

⁴ This could be interpreted as a locative question, 'Where is your job?'. Arguing against this interpretation, however, is the fact that *jaab* is used consistently in the early tapes as a verb which can be glossed as 'work'.

TABLE I
Information Question Forms

TAPE	FORM	EXAMPLE	GLOSS
I	a. waduyu	waduyu keshan?	'What did you ask?'
		waduyu kam tailaen?	'How did you come to Thailand?'
		waduyu kam fram?	'Where are you from?'
		waduyu kam howm?	'Why did you come home?'
II	b. ha/wa	ha?	'I don't understand.'
		wai	'Why?'
IV	d. wai	wai, yu fait da tai piipow?	'Why did you fight the Thai people?'
V	e. waduyu	waduyu kam?	'Why did you come?'
		waea, yu job?	'Where do you work?'
VI	g. wataim?	wataim?	'When?'
VI	h. wat	wat d'a neim	'What is this called?'
		waduyu sei?	'What did you say?'
VII	j. wat	wat yu won tu sii, yu aen mi	'Whatever you want to see, we can go to see.'
		kaen gow.	
VIII	k. waduyu	waduyu laik?	'Where would you like it?'
VIII	l. waea	waea, yu sidawn?	'Where did you sit?'
XI	m. watkain	watkain yu dring?	'What kind of you want to drink?'
XI	n. wat	wat yu niid?	'What do you need?'
XVII	o. watwei	watwei yu du?	'How do you do it?'

Sentence h. provides evidence that *wat* has been acquired as a separate question form by the time of Tape VI. During this time, however, *waduyu* continues to be used in object questions with second person subjects. Finally, at Time XI, *waduyu* disappears from the interlanguage, replaced by *wat* for object questions and *watwei*⁵ for questions involving means. There are no more occurrences of the pattern *waduyu* for any environment from this point to the end of the study. Nor is there any evidence that *du* is ever segmented from the *wa* and assigned a function in and of itself.

Table 2 illustrates the gradual reanalysis of the function of the pattern *waduyu*. The horizontal axis of the table represents time. The vertical axis represents the functions for which the various question forms are used. The one's in the cells represent the appearance of the pattern *waduyu*, while the two's represent the appearance of the more specific lexical items *wai*, *waea*, *watwei*, and *wat*. Empty cells indicate that no occurrences of those question forms appeared in that tape. The only cell with both one and two indicates that at that time, there is variability between the formula and the more specific lexical item. The zigzag diagonal line through the table indicates the times at which it is hypothesized the reanalyses of the function of *waduyu* occur.

Thus, the semantic function of *waduyu* appears to be very general in the beginning of the acquisition process and is gradually chipped away at until it

⁵ It is not clear whether *watwei* is analyzed as *wat* plus *wei*, or whether *wat* and *watwei* are learned as two separate lexical items. It is also not clear what the effect of learning *wataim* and *watkain* has on the analysis of *wat* and *watwei*. They are included in the table to show the reader the times at which these forms first appear.

TABLE 2
Information Question Forms With Prefabricated Patterns

CONTEXT	TIME										
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11-17
A. [_obj] V	1*	1	1	1	—	1	1	—	1	1	2**
B. [_mns] V	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
C. [_loc] V	1	—	1	1	2	—	1	2	—	2	2
D. [_cau] V	1	1	1	1	2	—	2	2	2	2	2

*waduys

**[wat _obj] yw; [watwer _mns] yw; [wada _loc] yw; [war _cau] yw

is finally abandoned completely. This suggests that contrary to reports of formulaic speech which emphasize the appropriateness of the use of patterns and routines from the beginning, the acquisition of functions of formulaic utterances may be an evolutionary process. This could be an aspect of the creative construction process which to date has been largely ignored in the literature on interlanguages.

The second prefabricated pattern which I would like to look at is the pattern *X isa Y*, where *X* and *Y* are slots for substitution. For the purposes of this paper, only data from the first stage will be examined. In the first tape, *isa* is the fifth most frequently occurring form in the interlanguage, after *ai* 'I', *aen* 'and', *da* 'the', and *bat* 'but'.⁶ It is used 103 times in Tape I, or an average of about once every 35 seconds. It is also the only form found in the tape which even approximates phonologically and functionally the English copula. Yet, as Table 3 indicates, the form is not a copula. The informant fails to use the form in 27 obligatory contexts, or 35 percent of the environments in which an English copula would be found.⁷ What is more, the environments listed in the table account for only 57 of the 103 tokens of *X isa Y* in that tape, or 57 percent.

In Tape I, some of the sentences which follow the *X isa Y* pattern look very much like English copula constructions. See, for example, the sentences in (1) and (2).

- (1) *diner isa trii tertii.*
'Dinner was at three thirty.'
jaepanii isa twenti eit.
'The Japanese is twenty eight.'

⁶The English glosses here indicate the English source word and not the functional equivalent. *Da*, for example, is used in this early tape in a way quite unlike the Standard English *the*. See, for example, Huebner (1979).

⁷The reader is advised to take all figures which claim to be percentages of a given form found in its obligatory contexts with a grain of salt, for two reasons. First, I know of no studies which show what percentage of time native speakers supply a given morpheme in its obligatory contexts. Second, even if such a figure were known (it is not that such a fact can not be discovered, but rather that to my knowledge nobody has bothered to find out.), it is almost impossible to identify Standard English contexts in an interlanguage for the simple reason that those contexts most often do not exist.

TABLE 3
Distribution of *isa* in Standard English Copula
Environments: Time One

	+isa	-isa	TOTAL
— Ving	2	3	5
— Pred. Adj.	27	13	40
— Pred. Nom.	19	8	27
— Loc. (Time/Place)	9	3	12
— V. pst. prt.	0	0	0
— Exist	0	0	0
TOTAL	57	27	84

kaemp nam.pong isa big.
'Camp Nam Phong is big.'

mai ofis isa viiva.
'My office is V.I.V.A.'

- (2) hii smowk owpiam. isa gud.
'He used to smoke opium. It was good.'
hii haeva wan baembuu. isa long.
'He had a piece of bamboo. It was long.'

But in other cases, the *X isa Y* pattern does not look like English copula constructions at all, or looks like very special kinds of English copula constructions, as the sentences in (3) and (4) illustrate.

- (3) in wan haw piipow sliip isa tuu handret.
'Two hundred people slept in each house.'
ai kam ban wiinai tu baengkok isa ten febuarii.
'I went from Ban Winai to Bangkok on the tenth of February.'

- (4) T: So how could you talk to Thai girls if you could not go out of the camp?
G: tai gerl isa now haev.
'There weren't any Thai girls.'
T: Did you cook food everyday? When you were walking?
G: isa now kuk.
'We didn't cook.'

Putting aside the examples in (4) for a second, what the examples in (1), (2), and (3) have in common is the organization of presupposed and asserted information. In all of these cases, the information to the right of *isa*, in the Y slot, is the asserted information or comment. In the examples in (1) and (3), the information to the left of the *isa*, the information in the X slot, is the topic or what the sentence is about. Some of these topics are newly introduced to the discourse; others are reintroduced after having been dropped from the discourse. Keenan and Schieffelin (1975) have called these "introducing discourse topics" and "reintroducing discourse topics," respec-

tively. The sentences in (2) have nothing in the X slot. They begin with *isa*. But the new information is asserted of a constituent of the comment of the immediately preceding sentence. The topics in these sentences, realized as zero, are what Keenan and Schieffelin (1975) have called "incorporating discourse topics." Thus, *isa* functions as a topic marker of some kind.

But not every topic is marked by *isa*, as seen in the sentences in (5), (6), and (7).

- (5) T: Who are the three people? Do you know their names?

G: now, ai downow, bat tri piupow werk siks oklok.

'No, I don't. But they began work at six o'clock.'

- T: Why did he have so many horses?

G: naev da chainii, kam da hongkong, kam tu bai da hos.

'They were Chinese. They came from Hong Kong. They came to buy the horses.'

- (6) hos, ai teis.

'As for horses, I raced them.'

holii, bat ai now si.

'As for Hawley, I don't see him.'

- (7) T: How old is Hawley?

G: bat ai sii, ai now tok, mabii fotii aen tertii eit.

'I see him. But I don't talk to him. He's about thirty eight or forty.'

isa haev wan piupow, seim da kaa, da moto, seim, seim.

'It seats one person. It's like a car. A motorcycle. It's just like one.'

In (5), the topics are agents. In (6), the topics are objects. Neither case is marked by *isa*. Instead, they are introduced as full noun phrases. As long as they retain their topic status, they are realized as zero. In the first example in (7), the topic is Hawley. The comment *mabii fotii aen tertii eit* is not preceded by *isa*. In the second example in (7), the topic is a vehicle of some kind. The first time it is raised to topic, it is marked with *isa*. In subsequent sentences, it is not, but instead just realized as zero. We find that *isa* is absent in those sentences whose topics are identical with the topics of the preceding sentence, or what Keenan and Schieffelin (1975) call "collaborating discourse topics." The pattern *X isa Y* is thus used to mark topics in those cases in which the topic is not an agent or object and is not identical to the topic of the immediately preceding sentence.

Now that most of the occurrences of the pattern *X isa Y* have been explained, let us return to those in (4) above. In the questions posed by the interviewer in each of the examples, there are presuppositions. In the first example, the presupposition is "You talked to Thai girls," and in the second, it is "You cooked." As it turns out, however, the presuppositions are false.

In order to deny the presupposition of the speaker, the informant uses the pattern *X isa Y*.

Thus, it can be seen that the pattern *X isa Y* has a specific function in the interlanguage, although not the same function as the source form has in the target language. It is used in just those sentences in this early stage of the interlanguage in which the topic is not the agent or object and is not identical with the topic in the immediately preceding sentence. It is also used in counter-assertive statements. In order to identify the distribution of the *X isa Y* pattern, it was necessary to go beyond a sentence-level analysis to the larger context of the discourse.

This paper has shown that prefabricated patterns are used by adults in the second language acquisition process. It has also shown that these patterns are a part of propositional language, that they have specific functions and that these functions can be described, although it is sometimes necessary to go beyond a sentence-level analysis of the grammar to do so. *Waduyu* functions as a general question marker and *na* as a topic marker. In the process of bringing out these points, the paper has also presented evidence that the acquisition of form precedes the acquisition of function and that the acquisition of function may be an evolutionary process. These points should raise questions for language acquisition researchers: Is the order of form before function characteristic of all aspects of the acquisition of grammar? Is the evolutionary nature of the acquisition of function applicable to other areas of the syntax, such as the development of a tense-aspect system, the development of a copula, the development of a system of noun phrase reference, etc.? If so, are the functions and the evolutionary paths followed universal, specific to learners from a particular language background, or related to social variables of the kind which Schumann (1975) describes, for example? Answers to these questions will lead to insights into the nature of the language learning process.

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Newly Placed Students Versus Continuing Students: Comparing Proficiency

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This study investigated the possibility that there might be two distinctively different student populations within some ESL classrooms: 1) students placed directly into a course (Placed Ss) and 2) those who are continuing from lower-level courses (Continuing Ss). During three successive quarters (Fall, Winter and Spring 1978) at UCLA, proficiency data were gathered on Placed and Continuing Ss in English 33C (advanced ESL).

The 33C level was chosen because it was suspected that any differences in proficiency would be greatest at the advanced levels. The Placed Ss (N=201) had been placed in English 33C by the *UCLA ESL Placement Examination* (ESLPE). The Continuing Ss (N=118) had needed and successfully completed at least one prerequisite ESL course before entering English 33C.

Three measures of proficiency were used to compare the two types of student: the students' course grades, their scores on the departmental final examination and their acceptable-answer scores on a 50 item cloze test.

Multivariate and discriminant analyses of the three measures indicated that the Placed Ss did significantly better ($p > .05$) than the Continuing Ss on all three measures in all three quarters. Probable causes of this phenomenon are discussed, as well as a possible relationship between this "new" variable and previous discouraging learning-gain (pretest/posttest) findings.

Language placement testing has generated a great deal of interest in the ESL field. Two general schools of thought are presently dominant: one which supports the "discrete-point" approach to language testing, and another which advocates the "integrative" approach. In addition, numerous studies have been conducted on the reliability and validity of various types of tests. Yet, in this plethora of theoretical activity, the student himself often seems to be forgotten:

This is not to say that the theoretical endeavors are not worthwhile. There just seems to be a general lack of follow-up on what actually happens to a student after we have affected his life by placing him at one level or another in our ESL classes. What does happen to him, one or two quarters/semesters later, when he has moved through our classes to a higher level?

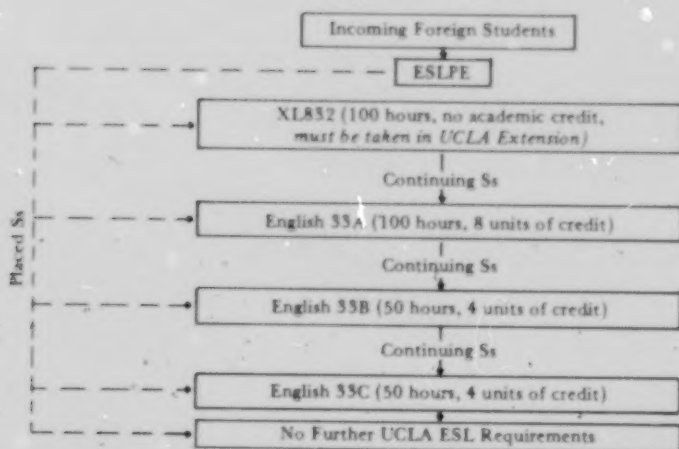
The purpose of this study is to investigate possible differences in proficiency between students who are continuing through our system of classes and the students around him who have been placed directly into the same class. This problem first surfaced during a meeting of the UCLA Service Course Committee. One of the instructors said that students who progress through our courses do not do as well as those who are placed directly into the same level. After that meeting, an informal poll of the teaching staff of our service courses showed that 16 out of 19 teachers believed that there was a difference between these two types of students.

This study, then, focused on the question: do students who have progressed through our system of service courses (Continuing Ss) perform differently at the end of the course on various measures of proficiency than those who have been placed directly into the same course (Placed Ss)? This question merits investigation for two reasons: 1) if the Placed Ss are, in fact, performing significantly better than the Continuing Ss, it would indicate a serious mismatch between the placement test and the material being learned in the service courses; 2) if such a mismatch exists at UCLA, the same problem may be widespread at institutions that use norm-referenced ESL placement examinations.

Method

The study was conducted by comparing the means of Continuing Ss and Placed Ss at the English 33C level on three measures of proficiency. The

TABLE 1
UCLA ESL Service Courses



(Adapted from Bailey, 1977)

TABLE 2
Language Distribution

Language	Fall 77		Winter 78		Spring 78	
	Placed	Contin.	Placed	Contin.	Placed	Contin.
Chinese	28	4	9	12	8	7
Korean	27	11	4	15	6	8
Persian	14	9	4	8	6	6
Vietnamese	12	1	1	1	4	2
Spanish	11	2	2	5	5	—
Japanese	8	—	—	5	5	4
French	5	—	2	1	2	—
Thai	4	—	—	1	—	—
Arabic	3	1	—	2	1	2
Armenian	2	—	—	—	—	—
Indonesian	2	—	1	1	—	—
Italian	2	—	—	1	—	—
Portuguese	—	—	—	2	2	—
Russian	—	—	—	1	2	—
Other (one each)	15	4	4	4	2	5
TOTAL	155	51	27	55	41	32

TABLE 3
Sex Distribution

Sex	Fall 77		Winter 78		Spring 78	
	Placed	Contin.	Placed	Contin.	Placed	Contin.
Male	56%	61%	48%	62%	68%	56%
Female	44%	39%	52%	38%	32%	44%

TABLE 4
Academic Status

Status	Fall 77		Winter 78		Spring 78	
	Placed	Contin.	Placed	Contin.	Placed	Contin.
Undergraduate	70%	74%	63%	64%	72%	68%
Graduate	30%	26%	37%	36%	28%	32%

English 33C level was chosen because, if there was any difference in performance, it could reasonably be expected to be greatest at the most advanced level in the series of courses (see Table 1).

Subjects. In the Fall 1977 pilot study ($n = 164$), all of the students enrolled in seven sections of UCLA's English 33C were included. The study was replicated during Winter 1978 ($n = 82$) using all four sections of 33C and again during Spring 1978 ($n = 73$) with all three sections. In these three experiments ($N = 319$), the Placed Ss and Continuing Ss seem to be similarly distributed in terms of language background (Table 2), sex (Table 3) and academic status (Table 4).

Measures of Proficiency. The Placed and Continuing Ss were separated into two groups on the basis of departmental records. Then, three measures of proficiency were used to compare the groups: the students' course grades, their scores on the departmental 33C final examination, and their scores on an open-ended cloze test.

The course grade was given by teachers to reflect the students' performance in the course. It was given on the basis of a point system which had been agreed upon by all teachers at the beginning of Fall quarter. This grade was dependent on the department 33C final examination in so far as the students had to pass the final in order to pass the course and the final amounted to 20% of the point total for the grade.

The final examination was first developed during the Spring quarter of 1977 by a committee of English 33C teachers and has since been refined. It was a criterion-referenced test designed to assess the main course objectives: reading, note-taking from lectures, and composition.

The cloze test was developed by this investigator (Brown, 1978). It was adapted from a passage in the intermediate ESL reader, *Man and His World: a Structured Reader* (Kurilecz, 1969). It was a 399 word passage on "Man and His Progress," a topic of general interest. The deletion pattern was every 7th word for a total of 50 blanks.

The cloze procedure is thought by many to be an integrative measure of overall language proficiency (Darnell, 1968; Oller, 1972). This cloze passage seemed valid for this purpose because it was reliable (K-R 20 = .95) and correlated at $r = .90$ with the ESLPE at UCLA as a criterion-related validity measure (Brown, 1978). The cloze test was scored by the acceptable-answer method being native-speaker responses collected on a pretest ($n = 77$) as the acceptable answers.

Analyses. In this posttest only design, mean comparisons were first calculated by multivariate analysis for each experiment. The Mahalanobis D^2 statistic was converted to an F ratio to determine whether or not there were significant overall differences between the Placed and Continuing Ss. Then, discriminant analysis was performed. An approximate F ratio was calculated from Wilks' lambda to estimate differences on the individual variables: grade, final and cloze (BMDP, 1977).

There was no previous empirical evidence for differences in these means or for directionality. Consequently, null hypotheses of no difference between group means were adopted and the significance level was set at $\alpha < .05$, nondirectional.

Results

The descriptive statistics (Table 5) indicate that, in all three experiments, there was a consistent difference in the mean performance of the Placed and

TABLE 5
Descriptive Statistics and Significance of Differences in Proficiency

Measure	Group	Fall 77 (n=164)	Winter 78 (n=82)	Spring 78 (n=73)	Total N=319
		Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean
Course Grade	Placed	2.99 (.62)	3.21 (.50)	3.35 (.50)	3.13
	Contin.	2.04 (1.04)	2.88 (.51)	2.83 (.27)	2.44
	(Diff.)	.95*	.33*	.52*	.69
Final Exam	Placed	67.83 (7.89)	78.33 (8.33)	78.15 (7.03)	72.89
	Contin.	55.31 (9.66)	73.36 (7.01)	68.97 (6.01)	63.07
	(Diff.)	12.52*	4.97**	9.18*	9.82
Cloze	Placed	22.97 (4.56)	24.22 (4.26)	23.12 (4.72)	23.32
	Contin.	15.87 (4.57)	18.56 (4.92)	16.09 (5.91)	16.61
	(Diff.)	7.10*	5.66*	7.03*	6.71

* $p < .01$

** $p < .05$

Continuing Ss on all three measures. These differences are all significant at well below the .05 probability level set for this study. The probability, then, is less than 5% that these differences occurred by chance alone. Therefore, all null hypotheses of no difference between means are rejected.

In addition to being significant, the differences are meaningful because they are large. During the entire school year 1977-1978, the Placed Ss had a mean of .69 grade points higher than the Continuing Ss. The Placed Ss also scored 9.82 points higher on the final examination and 6.71 points higher on the cloze test than the Continuing Ss.

Discussion

Clearly then, there were differences in the performances of the Continuing and Placed Ss. However, to adequately address the issue, the results must first be considered individually.

Course Grade. The average Placed S in all three experiments received 3.13 grade points or slightly higher than a "B" for the course. The average Continuing S, on the other hand, received 2.44 grade points or about a "C+." The .69 grade points difference amounts to more than two-thirds of a grade average difference between the two groups. In addition, 8.5 percent of the Continuing Ss did not pass the course (D+ or below), as opposed to only 1.5 percent of the Placed Ss. So it seems clear that, based on a standard point system, the teachers rated the performance of the Placed Ss significantly higher than that of the Continuing Ss.

Final Examination. Again on the course departmental final examination, the average Continuing Ss was considerably lower. The Placed Ss averaged 72.89 points on this measure, while the Continuing Ss had a mean of only 63.07, a difference of 9.82 points. The test was designed to tap three main course objectives: 1) the ability to read college level texts; 2) the ability to understand and take notes on a college level lecture; and 3) the ability to write a college level composition. The nearly 10 point difference between the means of the two groups indicates that the Placed Ss were significantly better than the Continuing Ss at mastering one or more of these course objectives.

Cloze Procedure. As mentioned above, the cloze procedure seems to be a good integrative test of overall ESL proficiency. Therefore, the data indicate that the Placed Ss were considerably higher in general ESL proficiency than the Continuing Ss. The mean score in the Placed group was 23.32; in the Continuing group, it was 16.61. The difference of 6.71 points is more than one standard deviation lower—a considerable difference in overall ESL proficiency.

Conclusions

The differences in proficiency found in this study seem to indicate a mismatch between the norm-referenced placement test (ESLPE) and the amount being learned in the courses. In other words, students in lower-level courses do not appear to be learning enough in those courses to make up the number of points which separate levels on the ESLPE and might not be placed in the next level if they had to take that test again. This observation is not meant, by any means, to be an attack on the UCLA placement test and service courses in particular. In fact, this mismatch may be widespread at institutions which use norm-referenced placement tests.

Possible Causes. Possible explanations for the differences between groups may be found by considering the following three variables: 1) the amount of instructional time devoted to the Ss' ESL study, 2) the amount and nature of the Ss' previous EFL study, and 3) the amount of time that has passed since that previous EFL study.

First, the amount of instructional time devoted to each level in the UCLA ESL service courses is limited (see Table 1). For instance, English 33B and 33C provide only fifty hours of instruction each. Previous studies indicate that fifty hours of instructional time is not enough to make any significant difference in overall English language proficiency.

For instance, at the University of Hawaii, Mason (1971) found that there was no significant difference in proficiency between an experimental group that was artificially exempted from ESL requirements and a matched-pair

control group that completed 180 hours of ESL course work in twelve weeks.

Mosback (1977) found similarly discouraging results in two studies at the University of Addis Ababa in Ethiopia. In the first study (1971-2), he reported an average decline in proficiency of .05 percent at the intermediate level and a decline of 2.4 percent at the advanced level. These results were obtained in a pretest-posttest study after 36 hours of instruction. In a second study (1972-3), he found a mean overall improvement of only 0.9 percent after 36 hours of instruction. Mosback concluded on the basis of these studies that "general 'back-up' courses in service English are largely a waste of resources" (p. 378).

Not all studies have been discouraging. At the University of California, San Diego, Newmark (1971) found that measureable gains could be achieved by narrowly defining the course objectives. He found that after thirty weeks with 12 hours of instruction per week (360 hours total), 37 percent of the Ss had achieved the intended goals. In forty weeks (480 hours), 50 percent had achieved the course objectives; in fifty weeks (600 hours), 80 percent; and in 60 weeks (720 hours), 98 percent had reached the intended goals. Though Newmark reports success in this study, 720 hours of instruction over a two year period is not always possible. For instance, a student who completes all four of the UCLA service courses has received a total of only 300 hours of instruction.

In light of these studies, how can we expect students with only 50-100 hours of instruction to gain enough in overall language proficiency to make up the difference in points which separates levels on the ESLPE? If the Continuing Ss have not made this point gain at the English 33B level, they will then be competing with more proficient Placed Ss at the English 33C level. This effect may be further magnified for those Continuing Ss who were originally placed into English XL832, then took English 33A, 33B and 33C. They would probably fall further behind the Placed Ss at each level.

Second, the amount and nature of previous EFL study may be factors contributing to the observed differences. If we view the ESLPE as a measure of achievement for an S's previous EFL study, those who score low either did not do well in their previous study or had little, if any, instruction in English. If they did not do well in EFL study at home, there is no reason for us to expect them to do much better in the United States. If they had little or no previous instruction, we are being overly optimistic to expect them to learn enough English in 250 hours of instruction to be competitive at the English 33C level with Placed Ss who may have studied English for many years at home. In either case, Continuing Ss who had low scores on the ESLPE are eventually promoted into the advanced English 33C course where they *must* compete with Placed Ss.

Third, the amount of time that has passed since studying English may be another factor which explains the observed differences. Some or all of the Placed Ss may have studied a great deal of English at home; however, because of the amount of time that has elapsed since that study, they may have become "rusty." Consequently, their ESLPE scores reflect only what they remember at the time. Later, when they are doing the course work for English 33C, they may simply be relearning what they already knew and do so much faster than those Continuing Ss who are learning the material for the first time.

These three "time" variables are all possible explanations for the repeatedly observed differences between the Placed Ss and Continuing Ss, but they are only conjecture. There is clearly a need for further research in this area.

Further Research. The mismatch found in this study between the placement and the learning that is going on in the service courses at UCLA begs answers to the following questions:

- 1) Will the same results be obtained by replicating this study at other institutions?
- 2) What is the relationship between the above three "time" variables and differences in performance between Placed and Continuing Ss?
- 3) Are there other variables which may account for the observed differences in performance?
- 4) Would a pretest-posttest research design help to explain the apparent differences between Placed and Continuing Ss?
- 5) Would a criterion-referenced placement test, based on clear-cut, realistic and measurable course objectives (see Popham, 1978), more accurately match the courses than a norm-referenced test?
- 6) Would learning gains in ESL surface more clearly if they were measured by objectives-based criterion-referenced tests rather than norm-referenced tests (see Mehrens and Ebel, 1979)?
- 7) Should students be "automatically" promoted in the next level without first demonstrating that they have gained enough to compete at that higher level?

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American Undergraduates' Reactions to the Communication Skills of Foreign Teaching Assistants¹

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The limited communication skills of non-native teaching assistants (TA's) have been identified as a problem area in undergraduate instruction. This paper reports on a research project in which American undergraduate students rated videotaped speech samples of non-native speakers in a role-play situation before and after instruction in oral communication. The subjects were potential TA's from various academic disciplines. The undergraduates rated the non-native speakers, who were advanced university ESL students, in the areas of Language Proficiency, Delivery and Communication of Information. The two research questions addressed are: (1) What areas of nonnative speaker communication do the undergraduate raters perceive as problematic in prospective TA's? (2) Do the raters perceive improvement in the subjects' performance following a forty-hour course in oral communication? These results are compared to the ratings given by faculty members in an earlier phase of the research.

This paper describes an attempt to measure communicative competence in a specific context: the performance of non-native speaking teaching assistants (TA's) in American universities. It is part of an on-going series of reports on a project designed to enhance the communication skills of foreign TA's at UCLA. The project includes instruction in communication skills for potential TA's as well as research on their problems and improvement. To date, this research has involved detailed and multi-faceted investigations with a small sample of subjects rather than more general analyses of a large subject pool. This research entails planning and revising course curriculum, the records of a participant observer in the training program, the development of a rating and screening instrument, pre- and post-testing of subjects, and administering rater questionnaires to native speakers.

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The classroom problems of foreign TA's are not unique to UCLA. Complaints from undergraduate students and faculty members have prompted concern about foreign TA's at the University of Southern California (Peter Shaw, personal communication), the University of Texas (John Orth, personal communication), the University of Houston (Acton 1980), and several campuses of the University of California (*San Francisco Examiner* 1978; Marion Franck, personal communication, Brinton and Gaskill 1979). Many universities have instituted programs to help non-native speaking TA's improve their linguistic and communicative skills. (See, for example, Acton 1980; Brinton and Gaskill 1979; Cheney-Rice, Garate and Shaw 1980; Hinofotis and Bailey 1978.) Furthermore, due to concern about this problem the National Association for Foreign Student Affairs (NAFSA) recently awarded a grant to the University of Minnesota to develop a series of videotapes for the training of foreign teaching assistants at American universities (Mestenhauser, Perry, Paige, Landa, Brutsch, Dege, Doyle, Gillette, Hughes, Judy, Keye, Murphy, Smith, Vandersluis and Wendt 1980).

The problem of foreign TA's limited communication skills was also encountered by Jones at "a large Eastern university." He describes the situation as follows:

Many of the graduate students are foreign students, and a good number of them are employed as teaching assistants. They are not only in the foreign language departments but also in chemistry, mathematics, engineering, psychology, etc. In spite of the fact that they were admitted to the graduate program and satisfied the English language entrance requirement, some of them cannot be understood by their students and some have difficulty understanding the students' questions and comments. Some of the undergraduates who were suffering under this situation complained to the proper authorities, and the administration agreed that something had to be done. But what? Faculty members in the ESL program were consulted, but they had to admit that they were not really equipped to deal with this kind of problem. Their tests of English were very general and did not measure specific situations. Furthermore, *their tests did not measure speaking proficiency directly at all, the skill that is most critical for teaching* (Jones 1979:55).

Thus Jones sees the problem as partly a matter of effective performance testing.

The distinction between performance and competence in communicative testing is discussed by Swain and Canale (1979). They point out that a second language learner's competence, what he knows about the language, can be tapped through the use of diagnostic, discrete-point items. However, performance testing should also measure the extent to which "the learner is able to actually demonstrate this knowledge in meaningful communication settings" (Swain and Canale 1979:3). The task in the test situation should reflect the learner's typical use of the language, "where an integration of these skills is required with little time to reflect on and monitor language input and output" (ibid.). This type of test is what Clark has called direct

proficiency testing:

In direct proficiency testing, the testing format and procedure attempt to duplicate as closely as possible the setting and operation of the real-life situation in which the proficiency is normally demonstrated. . . . A major requirement of direct proficiency tests is that they must provide a very close facsimile or "work sample" of the real-life language situations in question, with respect to both the setting and operation of the tests and the linguistic areas and content which they embody (Clark 1975: 10-11).

This paper describes research on a direct test of the language proficiency of foreign teaching assistants. The task performed by the subjects was chosen to be representative of a TA's functions across disciplines and to provide a reasonable (five-minute) speech sample for rating. Briefly, the task consisted of a role-play procedure in which the subject, the TA or prospective TA, explained a term or concept from his field to the interviewer, who posed as an undergraduate student in an introductory course.² This task was considered to approximate one function of a TA—explaining material to students during office hours. Videotapes of the subjects performing this task were obtained before and after a course in oral communication for foreign students (Hinofotis and Bailey 1978). The data collection procedure is discussed in detail elsewhere, as are the problems associated with this type of task (Hinofotis, Bailey and Stern 1979).

The Oral Communication Rating Instrument, which was used to assess these videotaped speech samples, was developed specifically for this purpose. The instrument (see Appendix A) consists of three main sections: Initial Overall Impression, Performance Categories, and Final Overall Impression, all of which were based on a nine-point Likert scale. The major categories and subcategories on the instrument were arrived at during a pilot study in which raters were asked to assign an overall rating and then provide open-ended comments in response to the question, "On what basis did you make this judgment?" (For a detailed discussion of the development of the rating instrument, see Hinofotis, Bailey and Stern, forthcoming.)

The three main Performance Categories on the instrument are Language Proficiency, Delivery, and Communication of Information. These categories correspond in part to the components of communicative competence described by Swain and Canale (1979). The category of Language Proficiency parallels Swain and Canale's *grammatical competence*, which includes "knowledge of lexical items and of rules of morphology, syntax, sentence-grammar semantics and phonology" (Swain and Canale 1979:12). Communication of Information, an area thought to be especially important in teaching situations, is related to Swain and Canale's *sociolinguistic competence*. This facet of communicative competence includes both sociocultural rules

² For a discussion of the interviewer's role in this research, including problems of intra-examiner reliability (Jones 1979), see Pike (1979), "An Investigation of the Interviewer's Role in Oral Proficiency Testing."

and discourse rules; however, Communication of Information is primarily related to discourse rules since in sociolinguistic competence

the primary focus of discourse rules is on the cohesiveness of groups of utterances, that is, the grammatical links, and on the coherence of groups of utterances, that is, the appropriate combination of communicative function (Swain and Canale 1979:13).

The category of Delivery is less closely related to Swain and Canale's *strategic competence*, although both are concerned with verbal and nonverbal communication strategies.³ In the form of the Oral Communication Rating Instrument used in this study each of these three main categories includes four subcategories, which are described in Appendix B.

In a previous study, the Oral Communication Rating Instrument was used by six raters—three experienced ESL teachers and three raters from UCLA's Office of Instructional Development, which is responsible for campuswide TA-training programs. Throughout the paper these raters are referred to as the TESL and TA training raters. These six raters viewed randomly ordered videotapes of ten subjects before and after a course in oral communication (Hinofotis, Bailey and Stern 1979). The results of that study were that the raters perceived improvement in the post-tape performance of the majority of subjects.

For the present study ten freshmen, five males and five females, were trained to use the Oral Communication Rating Instrument. All ten raters were native speakers of English enrolled in their first quarter at UCLA. They had all had minimal contact with other cultures and languages and had had no formal training in linguistics. These raters were recruited from math classes required of large numbers of undergraduates, because courses in math and the sciences often employ non-native teaching assistants. Undergraduates were selected as raters since they are the ultimate judges of non-native speaking TA's in university courses.

The undergraduate raters viewed the same videotaped samples rated by the TESL and TA training raters in the earlier study. In addition, both sets of raters completed a questionnaire regarding their reactions to the non-native TA's. The numerical scores were analyzed and the raters' open-ended comments were reviewed to provide both quantitative and qualitative data

³ Strategic competence in Swain and Canale's terms refers in part to compensatory communication strategies, such as those described by Galvan and Campbell (1979) and Tarone (1979), which "may be called into action at times when the flow of speech might otherwise be impeded due to performance variables or to insufficient competence" (Swain and Canale 1979:13). This perspective is somewhat different from the category of Delivery on the Oral Communication Rating Instrument. In the context of training foreign teaching assistants, factors such as eye contact and using other nonverbal behaviors to convey a message are seen as contributing to normal on-going communication in English; that is, they do not only come into play when communication is impeded. In addition, Swain and Canale include the ability to paraphrase under strategic competence, while in this research it has been classified as a teaching behavior under the main category of Communication of Information.

on the oral communication skills of the ten subjects. In the discussion of the research questions, the ratings and comments of the undergraduate raters are compared to those of the TESL and TA training raters in the previous study.

The first research question in this study was: What areas of non-native speaker communication do the undergraduate raters perceive as problematic in prospective TA's? Two sources of information were used in answering this question: (1) the raters' open-ended comments written during the rating procedure and (2) their responses on the questionnaire mentioned above.

The open-ended comments on the rating instrument were entirely optional. Some raters routinely commented, while others commented only on especially salient features of the speech samples. The raters' negative comments on both the pre- and post-tapes were grouped according to the topics of the Performance Categories. The undergraduate raters complained more about the topics subsumed under Language Proficiency (twenty-nine such comments) than about the categories of Delivery and Communication of Information (twenty-one and eighteen negative comments, respectively). In other words, Language Proficiency (or grammatical competence, in Swain and Canale's terms) is indeed an important factor in assessing communicative competence in an educational environment. However, the single most frequent comment volunteered by the undergraduate raters had to do with the subjects' explanations being boring. Some variant of this specific complaint appeared eighteen times. Comments about being "put to sleep" by a subject's explanation were often accompanied by references to the subject's monotone speech patterns. It may be that the undergraduate raters were influenced by the non-native speaker's intonation patterns but diagnosed this problem as one of being generally boring, instead of (or as well as) giving the subject a low rating in the subcategory of Pronunciation.

In comparison to the undergraduate raters, the TESL and TA training raters in the previous study seldom made optional comments. However, Pronunciation was the one Performance Category that often triggered negative comments from them. Two of these raters pointed out that there seems to be a threshold of intelligibility in the subjects' pronunciation. That is, beyond a certain (undetermined) point of near-native speech, pronunciation ceases to be a factor, but up to a given proficiency level, the faulty pronunciation of a non-native speaker can severely impair the communication process. Future research may reveal a hierarchy of native-speaker tolerance towards factors influencing communicative competence (Briere 1979).

The questionnaire provided more specific information about the areas of non-native speaker communication which the raters judged to be problematic. Part of the questionnaire involved a ranking task in which the raters ordered the twelve subcategories of performance from most important (1) to least important (12). On the questionnaire these twelve subcategories were randomly ordered and were not listed under the main headings of Lan-

TABLE 1
Results of the Ranking Task of the Twelve Subcategories of Performance*

Subcategories of Performance	Undergraduate Raters (n = 10)			TESL and TA Training Raters (n = 6)		
	Rank Order	X Ranking	SD	Rank Order	X Ranking	SD
Vocabulary (LP)	8	6.40	2.01	6	5.67	2.80
Grammar (LP)	7	6.30	3.65	4	5.33	2.58
Pronunciation (LP)	1	3.60	2.91	1	2.33	1.75
Flow of Speech (LP)	4	5.10	3.07	5	3.50	3.27
Eye Contact (D)	10	8.00	3.02	10	8.67	3.20
Other Nonverbal Aspects (D)	12	10.10	2.47	12	11.33	1.63
Confidence in Manner (D)	9	7.90	3.31	9	7.33	3.83
Presence (D)	11	9.30	2.58	7	6.33	3.14
Development of Explanation (COI)	3	4.80	3.58	3	5.17	2.99
Use of Supporting Evidence (COI)	5.5	6.10	2.56	11	8.83	1.94
Clarity of Expression (COI)	5.5	6.10	3.03	2	4.33	1.37
Ability to Relate to Student (COI)	2	4.30	3.71	8	7.17	4.17

*LP = Language Proficiency, D = Delivery, COI = Communication of Information. 1 = Most important, 12 = Least important.

guage Proficiency, Delivery, and Communication of Information. The results of this ranking task are given in Table 1.

In this facet of the research there was general agreement between the undergraduate raters and the TESL and TA training raters. A Spearman rank order correlation coefficient was computed on the mean rankings assigned by the two groups of raters. A moderate correlation was obtained ($\rho = 0.62$, $p < .05$ for a one-tailed test).

When the rankings were averaged to produce a mean ranking by group, both sets of raters ranked pronunciation as the single most important factor in their assessment of a TA's overall ability. This finding is consistent with the frequency of the negative comments about the subjects' pronunciation, discussed above. The undergraduates and TESL and TA training raters also agreed on the relative mean rankings of Development of Explanation (3), Confidence in Manner (9), Eye Contact (10), and Other Nonverbal Aspects (12). However, there was substantial disagreement as to the importance of the subcategory Ability to Relate to Student. The undergraduates ranked this factor second in importance, while the TESL and TA training raters ranked it eighth. The undergraduates also viewed the subcategory Use of Supporting Evidence as more important than did the TESL and TA training raters (5.5 versus 11). These differences may indicate that the undergraduates were reacting to the subjects on an interpersonal level, whereas the other raters were more detached.

The questionnaire also included a rating task in which the raters indicated their degree of agreement or disagreement with twenty statements on a nine-point Likert scale (1=strongly disagree, 3 = disagree, 5 = no opinion, 7 = agree, 9 = strongly agree). The results of this rating task are pertinent to the first research question about what areas of non-native speaker communication the raters perceived as problematic. In Table 2 each statement is listed, along with the mean ratings and standard deviations derived from the scores given by both groups of raters. These mean ratings were then rank ordered from most to least agreement. A Spearman rank order correlation coefficient was computed for the responses given by the two groups of raters to the twenty statements. A strong positive correlation was obtained ($\rho = 0.83$, $p < .01$ for a one-tailed test).

Six of the items on the questionnaire (numbers 1, 3, 8, 11, 14 and 17) compare the relative importance of grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation. The mean ratings of both the undergraduate and TESL and TA training raters again support the idea that pronunciation is a key factor in a foreign TA's ability to communicate.

Items 4 and 13 were designed to supplement the undergraduate raters' comments about the TA's' "boring" explanations. Here the mean ratings reveal that in spite of their open-ended comments the undergraduates as a group had a slight preference for TA's who are boring but clear ($\bar{X} = 4.90$) rather than TA's who are interesting but disorganized ($\bar{X} = 4.20$). However, these group means fall within the 4 to 5 point range on the Likert scale, which indicates no strong trend toward either agreement or disagreement. The TESL and TA training raters from the previous study also showed a slight preference for boring but clear TA's ($\bar{X} = 5.33$) as opposed to interesting but disorganized TA's ($\bar{X} = 5.17$). Again, these mean scores fall within the "no opinion" range.

Items 2 and 12 dealt with Eye Contact, one of the subcategories of Delivery on the Oral Communication Rating Instrument. Although Eye Contact was ranked low in importance on the ranking task by both sets of raters (tenth out of twelve categories), in the rating task there was general agreement in both groups that establishing eye contact is an important factor in communication.

There was also relatively strong general agreement in both groups of raters that good TA's give examples and illustrations without being asked (item 6) and paraphrase ideas or use synonyms to explain technical concepts or lab assignments (item 19). The absence of these behaviors could be construed as problematic in—and perhaps detrimental to—communication between foreign TA's and their students.

One interesting point of difference between the undergraduate raters and the TESL and TA training raters emerged in the responses to item 9. The undergraduates agreed that it is distracting for them if a foreign TA speaks haltingly ($\bar{X} = 7.80$), while the TESL and TA training raters as a group were

TABLE 2
Results of the Rating Task on the Rater Questionnaire

Items on a Nine-point Likert Scale (1=strongly disagree, 3=disagree, 5=no opinion, 7=agree, 9=strongly agree)	Undergraduate Raters (n = 10)			TESL and TA Train- ing Raters (n = 6)		
	Rank	X	SD	Rank	X	SD
1. For American students to understand a foreign TA it is more important that he/she have good pronunciation than good grammar.	4	7.60	0.97	4	7.33	0.82
2. It bothers me if a person doesn't look at me when he/she is talking to me.	9	6.80	1.75	5.5	6.83	1.47
3. It is more important for a foreign TA to have good vocabulary than good pronunciation.	19	4.10	2.08	18	3.33	1.63
4. I'd rather have a boring TA who expresses himself clearly than someone who is interesting but disorganized.	14	4.90	2.38	12.5	5.33	1.86
5. Usually Europeans speaking English are easier to understand than Orientals.	7	7.20	1.93	7	6.67	1.03
6. Good teaching assistants give examples and illustrations without being asked.	1.5	8.40	0.84	2.5	8.33	1.21
7. All other things being equal, it is just as easy to learn from a non-native speaker as a native speaker.	11	5.60	3.10	10	6.00	2.37
8. It is more important for a foreign TA to have good pronunciation than a good vocabulary.	10	6.60	1.65	11	5.83	1.47
9. It is distracting to me if a foreign TA speaks haltingly.	3	7.80	1.03	12.5	5.33	1.21
10. To be an effective TA a foreign graduate student must have a sense of humor.	15	4.80	1.55	8.5	6.50	0.84
11. It is more important for a foreign TA to have good grammar than good pronunciation.	17	4.30	1.06	19	2.83	0.98
12. It is important for a TA to establish eye contact while talking to students.	5	7.40	1.43	5.5	6.83	0.98
13. I'd rather have an interesting but disorganized TA than someone who is boring but clear.	18	4.20	1.75	14	5.17	2.23
14. It is more important for a foreign TA to have a good vocabulary than good grammar.	12.5	5.30	2.16	15	4.83	1.72
15. Generally Orientals speaking English are harder to understand than Europeans.	8	6.90	2.23	8.5	6.50	0.84
16. Non-native speakers should not be given teaching assistant positions at UCLA (except in foreign language classes).	20	3.00	1.76	20	2.33	1.51
17. It is more important for a foreign TA to have good grammar than a good vocabulary.	16	4.40	1.76	16.5	4.17	2.40
18. Foreign students who apply for TAships should pass an oral English proficiency examination before they are allowed to teach.	1.5	8.40	1.26	1	8.83	0.41
19. A good TA paraphrases ideas or uses synonyms to explain technical concepts or lab assignments.	6	7.30	1.77	2.5	8.33	0.82
20. All other things being equal, it is more difficult to learn from a non-native speaker of English than a native speaker.	12.5	5.30	2.54	16.5	4.17	2.48

much less affected by this factor ($\bar{X} = 5.33$). This finding suggests that the subcategory Flow of Speech may be more important for the undergraduates' assessment of the foreign TA's' communicative skills than it is for the TESL and TA training raters.

Items 5 and 15 were meant to determine whether the raters felt that Orientals speaking English were harder to understand than Europeans speak-

ing English. Both groups of raters agreed that this is the case, although the extent of agreement on both questions was somewhat stronger among the undergraduates than the TESL and TA training raters. This finding indicates that Oriental TA's may face more difficulties with their American undergraduate students than European TA's do. Whether or not the Orientals are actually harder to understand is a separate issue: these raters *think* they are.

Item 10, which states that foreign TA's must have a sense of humor to be effective, produced no strong opinions among the undergraduate raters ($\bar{X} = 4.80$), while the TESL and TA training raters agreed with this statement to a certain extent ($\bar{X} = 6.50$). The undergraduates' collective reaction to this item is interesting in the light of their many comments about the subjects' boring explanations. Perhaps having a sense of humor would be an asset for a foreign TA, but lacking one may not necessarily be detrimental to his potential effectiveness.

Items 7 and 20 were designed to test the assumption that it is easier to learn from a native speaker than a non-native speaker. This assumption was not supported, i.e., there was no strong agreement or disagreement by either group of raters.

Finally, perhaps the most illuminating items were numbers 16 and 18. Item 16 states that non-native speakers should not be given teaching assistantships except in foreign language classes. Both the undergraduate raters and the TESL and TA training raters disagreed with this statement (the means were 3.00 and 2.33, respectively). This item was ranked last based on the responses of both sets of raters (i.e., this statement received the strongest disagreement ratings). Thus, in spite of the communication problems involved, the raters felt that non-native speakers should be employed as TA's. However, the raters did feel that there should be some measure of control over the language ability of foreign graduate students selected as TA's. This feeling was reflected in the raters' responses to item 18: both groups of raters strongly agreed that foreign students who apply for teaching assistantships should pass an oral English proficiency examination before they are allowed to teach. The TESL and TA training raters agreed with this statement ($\bar{X} = 8.40$). In the future this finding should encourage the further development of performance tests for measuring the communication skills of non-native speakers who are potential teaching assistants.

In summary, with regard to the first research question, the raters' optional comments on the rating instrument and their responses to the ranking and rating tasks on the questionnaire reveal a number of problem areas in the communication skills of the non-native TA's. In particular, future research should address the role of pronunciation in assessing communicative competence. Additionally, these findings suggest that training programs for foreign TA's should probably stress ways in which the TA's can maintain a high level of interest among their American students. It is encouraging to note, however, that the problems identified in the questionnaire and open-

ended comments are not insurmountable. The remainder of this paper discusses some areas in which the subjects in this study have made progress.

The second research question was: Do undergraduate raters perceive improvement in the subjects' performance following a forty-hour course in oral communication? To answer this question, the ten undergraduate students followed the same evaluation procedure followed by the six raters in the earlier phase of the research. Ten raters were selected for the second study because a generalizability theory analysis of pilot data indicated that ten raters on one viewing occasion would provide optimal assessment of the subjects' communication skills (Bolos, Hinofotis and Bailey 1979).

As in the earlier study with raters from TESL and TA training, the undergraduate raters went through a two-hour training program designed to familiarize them with the rating instrument and the rating procedure. Following the training program the undergraduate raters made appointments to view and evaluate the videotapes of ten subjects who had been randomly chosen from among the prospective TA's who took the course. The pre- and post-tape segments for those subjects were randomly arranged for viewing. Using the instrument described above, the undergraduates evaluated the subjects' oral communication skills. Like the former panel of raters, they did not know the interviews had been taped before and after treatment. They were told simply that two segments were provided per subject to allow for more accurate oral proficiency assessments.

The panel of undergraduate raters scored the pre- and post-tapes of the ten subjects. The scores indicate the degree to which the raters perceived change in the subjects' performance. The pre- and post-tape means for individual subjects on the Final Overall Impression show a slight trend towards improvement. The means were obtained from the scores of the raters using a nine-point Likert scale. In the earlier study, seven of the ten subjects were perceived as improving on the Final Overall Impression rating from the pre- to the post-tapes, while in the present study with the undergraduate raters only five of the ten subjects were judged to have improved on the Final Overall Impression. The means and standard deviations for the ten individual subjects with both panels of raters are given in Table 3.

In spite of the results for the individual subjects, there was a grand mean increase from pre- to post-tapes with both groups of raters. The grand means for the undergraduate raters were pre: 5.35, post: 5.93, and for the TESL and TA training raters pre: 4.73, post 5.42. Paired sample t-tests run on these Final Overall Impression scores yielded similar significant results for both groups of raters. For the undergraduate raters the mean increase was significant at the .005 probability level for a one-tailed test ($t_{obs} = 2.97$, $df = 99$). The earlier group mean increase from pre-tape to post-tape, as judged by the TESL and TA training raters, was also highly significant ($p < .0005$, $t_{obs} = 3.96$, $df = 59$).

It is interesting to note that eighty percent of the mean scores assigned

TABLE 5
Individual Subjects' Mean Scores for the Final Overall Impression Category

Subject Number	Undergraduate Raters (n = 10)				TESL and TA Training Raters (n = 6)			
	Pre-tapes $\bar{X}$	SD	Post-tapes $\bar{X}$	SD	Pre-tapes $\bar{X}$	SD	Post-tapes $\bar{X}$	SD
1	5.20	1.14	7.30	0.82	4.00	1.90	5.67	2.34
2	3.90	0.99	5.60	1.17	2.50	1.76	4.17	1.47
3	3.40	1.17	5.40	1.27	2.83	1.17	4.17	1.72
4	6.20	1.48	5.90	1.73	5.33	1.21	6.50	1.52
5	6.60	0.97	6.50	1.35	5.17	0.41	6.17	1.33
6	4.10	1.45	4.80	1.32	3.83	1.17	4.67	1.86
7	5.30	1.64	6.50	1.35	5.17	1.47	6.00	0.89
8	7.70	0.82	6.90	1.10	6.17	1.72	6.17	1.60
9	4.50	1.78	4.40	1.71	4.83	1.33	4.17	0.41
10	6.60	2.11	5.00	0.77	7.50	1.38	6.50	1.64
Grand Mean	5.35	1.90	5.93	1.51	4.73	1.94	5.42	1.73

by the undergraduate raters were higher than those assigned to the same speech samples by the ESL teachers and TA trainers. As seen above, the group means for both the pre- and post-tapes were higher with the undergraduate raters. These data indicate a tendency on the part of the undergraduate raters to be more lenient or tolerant than the TESL and TA training raters in their assessment of the subjects' communicative ability. On the other hand, the undergraduates may have lower expectations of the proficiency of non-native TA's and thus rate the language skills of reasonably proficient speakers higher than ESL teachers would.

The pattern of inter-rater reliability coefficients with the undergraduate raters is similar to the pattern that emerged with the raters from TESL and TA training. These coefficients are given in Table 4.

With both panels of raters the reliability of coefficients on the pre-tapes were considerably higher than for the post-tapes. Since the tapes were randomized for viewing and the raters did not know they were viewing one interview made before a treatment and another after the treatment, an ordering effect can probably be ruled out as the cause of the differences in the reliability coefficients. A possible explanation is that some subjects may have modified their behavior during the treatment in such a way that some raters were favorably impressed while others were not.

Paired sample t-tests were also run on the subjects' pre- and post-tape scores for the Performance Categories on the rating instrument. In the phase of the research with the undergraduate raters, significant improvement was seen in thirteen out of fifteen comparisons with significance levels ranging from .05 to .005 for one-tailed tests. The only two subcategories for which the undergraduate raters did not perceive improvement were Pronunciation and Flow of Speech. This finding is not surprising since improvement in pro-

TABLE 4
Inter-rater Reliability Coefficients for the Undergraduate Raters and TESL and TA Training Raters*

	Undergraduate Raters (n = 10)	TESL and TA Training Raters (n = 6)
<i>Pre-tapes</i>		
Initial Overall Impression	r = .91	r = .91
Final Overall Impression	r = .93	r = .92
<i>Post-tapes</i>		
Initial Overall Impression	r = .81	r = .78
Final Overall Impression	r = .80	r = .83

*Based on the Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient.

nunciation is not a specific goal of the course in oral communication. (UCLA offers a separate course in pronunciation for ESL students.) Further, it is interesting that Pronunciation was also one of the categories for which the raters from TESL and TA training did not perceive improvement, although they did identify improvement in eleven of the fifteen Performance Categories. The data from the Performance Categories (as opposed to the Final Overall Impression scores) indicate that the undergraduate raters as a group perceived more improvement from the pre-tapes to the post-tapes than did the ESL teachers and TA trainers.

In summary, the undergraduate raters, like the TESL and TA training raters in the previous study, did perceive improvement in the subjects' performance following a forty-hour course in oral communication. This perceived improvement is reflected in the grand means for the scores assigned to the Final Overall Impression category and the significant differences in the Performance Categories from pre- to post-tapes. These findings are particularly encouraging, given the brevity of the treatment and the small sample size. However, because this research did not include a control group, the course in oral communication cannot be identified as the sole cause of the subjects' improvement. Increased familiarity with videotaping might be posited as an alternative explanation for their gains. Still, in course evaluations both the students and the teachers reported that the oral communication class had been beneficial (Hinofotis, Bailey and Stern 1978). This attitude is supported by the undergraduate raters' judgments.

The purpose of this paper was to report on further research involving the use of a direct test to measure communicative competence of non-native speaking teaching assistants in an American university. The findings reported here suggest that undergraduate students with no formal training in linguistics can be sensitive to change in the communication skills of non-native speakers of English in a specific academic situation. Furthermore, the perceived mean improvement from pre- to post-tape scores in thirteen out of fifteen performance categories may indicate that a ten-week, forty-hour course in oral communication designed for a specific purpose can, in fact, effect a change in the students' performance. More research on the in-

terrelationships among the Performance Categories should yield a better understanding of the factors involved in assessing oral proficiency in this specific context (Hinofotis 1980) and indicate more clearly what communication features the overall ratings are tapping. Continued work in the same direction should provide guidelines for the screening and evaluation of prospective non-native speaking teaching assistants. The added dimension of undergraduate raters has contributed to a better understanding of what oral language proficiency in this particular setting really encompasses. The input of the undergraduate raters, particularly in comparison to that of the experienced ESL teachers and TA trainers, should influence the curricula of training programs for potential TA's as well as further efforts to assess communicative competence in this particular context.

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Building Bridges

APPENDIX A

Oral Communication Rating Instrument

Subject # _____ Term _____ Date _____ Rater # _____

Directions: You will see a series of videotaped interviews in which each subject explains a term from his/her academic field. As the tape is playing, make notes about the subject's performance of the task in the space below. When the tape ends, please give your initial overall impression of the subject's performance by circling the appropriate number under Roman numeral I. After you have done this, please turn over the page and complete Roman numerals II and III in sequence.

1 INITIAL OVERALL IMPRESSION

Please circle only one number:

I
(Poor)

2

2

4

5

6

2

1

9

(Excellent)

II. PERFORMANCE CATEGORIES

Directions: Rate this subject on each of the following fifteen categories. Please circle only one number for each category.

	(Poor)									(Excell)
A. Language Proficiency	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
1. Vocabulary	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
2. Grammar	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
3. Pronunciation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
4. Flow of Speech	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
B. Delivery	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
5. Eye Contact	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
6. Other Non-verbal Aspects	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
7. Confidence in Manner	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
8. Presence	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
C. Communication of Information	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
9. Development of Explanation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
10. Use of Supporting Evidence	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
11. Clarity of Expression	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
12. Ability to Relate to Student	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	

III. FINAL OVERALL IMPRESSION

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Is this subject's English good enough for him to be a teaching assistant in his major department at UCLA in the following capacities?

(Please circle yes or no).

- | | | |
|---------------------------------|-----|----|
| A. Lecturing In English | Yes | No |
| B. Leading a discussion section | Yes | No |
| C. Conducting a lab section | Yes | No |

Optional Comments:

APPENDIX B

Descriptors of the Performance Categories on the Oral Communication Rating Instrument

In viewing the videotapes, you will be asked to rate the subjects in three general categories and twelve specific subcategories. These topics and the areas they cover are listed below. You may refer to this sheet during the rating process if you wish.

A. LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY

1. *Vocabulary*: including semantically appropriate word choice, control of idiomatic English and subject-specific vocabulary.
2. *Grammar*: including the morphology and syntax of English.
3. *Pronunciation*: including vowel and consonant sounds, syllable stress and intonation patterns.
4. *Flow of Speech*: smoothness of expression, including rate and ease of speech.

B. DELIVERY

5. *Eye Contact*: looking at the "student" during the explanation.
6. *Other Non-verbal Aspects*: including gestures, facial expressions, posture, freedom from distracting behaviors, etc.
7. *Confidence in Manner*: apparent degree of comfort or nervousness in conveying information.
8. *Presence*: apparent degree of animation and enthusiasm, as reflected in part by voice quality; may include humor.

C. COMMUNICATION OF INFORMATION

9. *Development of Explanation*: degree to which ideas are coherent, logically ordered and complete.
10. *Use of Supporting Evidence*: including spontaneous use of example, detail, illustration, analogy and/or definition.
11. *Clarity of Expression*: including use of synonyms, paraphrasing and appropriate transitions to explain the term; general style;
12. *Ability to Relate to "Student"*: including apparent willingness to share information, flexibility in responding to questions, and monitoring of "student's" understanding.

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Critical Incidents Workshop for ESL Teacher Intercultural Awareness Training	Susan Lewis English
Two Word/Two Way Communication and Communicative Competence	John J. Staczek
Teaching in Non-Instructional Settings	Virginia L. Castro and Penny Laporte
Outlining Problems in On-Going ESP Programs	Gregory McCoy and Michael V. Regan
Communicative Disorders in the ESL Classroom	Robert Weissberg and Stephen S. Farmer
Language Learning Via Drama	Richard A. Via
Vocabulary Preparation for Reading in the Content Area	James W. Ramsay



University Training Programs: The Rural Context¹

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This paper focuses on the teacher training needs of ESL teachers in rural settings. The majority of university teacher training programs are located in urban settings, where there are the greatest numbers of linguistic minority students and professionally trained teachers. The rural setting poses a challenge for teacher trainers, who must take into account a number of factors in planning their course work. Among the most important are the following: small, scattered student populations; the need for individualized instruction; travelling teachers; negative community attitudes; geographically and professionally isolated teachers and paraprofessionals.

The availability of trained, skilled ESL teachers to do the job is just as much of a concern of school administrators in rural settings as it is of school administrators in urban and university settings. I'm going to suggest, however, that TESOL degree university programs have neglected the needs of the rural administrator in designing training programs. Furthermore, I am going to suggest that in placing an emphasis on traditionally structured courses, taught at the university, and taught with an overt emphasis on theory, they have ignored the ESL teacher in small town settings. On-the-job training is needed, and the university should play an important role in this training.

In looking back at my own personnel records for background information on our teachers, I found that many had come to us from volunteer roles. Some had spent time abroad teaching adults in the Peace Corps. Most had had little if any previous university training in ESL. The majority were known by the local elementary school principal as former teachers, reliable substitutes, and certified in a variety of subject areas. But apparently this is not just characteristic of ESL teachers in our rural areas, for according to the Teachers Language Skills Survey, as reported by Dorothy Waggoner

¹ This is a revised version of an address given at a plenary panel session. Under Plenary Addresses, see *TESOL and Articulation between Teacher Training and Public Education, Part III*, for abridged version. The informal style of the presentation has been retained.

(1978), of the 100,000 teachers who were teaching ESL in 1976-7, only one-fourth had taken even one course in teaching ESL and only 18% met the minimal ESL qualifications of at least one course in teaching ESL, one course in the history and culture of the non-English language group, and second language learning experience.

The teacher just described is exactly what we have in our rural schools. It is true that in many cases, speaking the language of the child and certification will qualify anyone for a job in ESL; but we also do find teachers with master's degrees in TESOL. My suggestions today for training are meant for both groups. I do not intend to outline possible ESL degree programs or even courses. Instead I plan to make suggestions for training content based on areas of weakness and strength as observed in the classroom. While there are certainly some areas of training which apply to ESL teaching in all situations, there are other necessary areas which are unique to rural communities. I want first to concentrate on describing the situation the ESL teacher finds in the rural community, the conditions warranting specific training to meet the needs of rural children. We'll look at the community, then at the student, and then at the teaching situation, with suggestions for training coming out of this background information.

Rural, Small Town Characteristics

The following are seven characteristics of small towns which would influence an ESL program:

First, *students are likely to be few in number in any particular school.* The largest cities seem to draw most of the ESL students and generally rural areas get the spillover. Why? Because of housing restrictions, because of the high cost of housing, because of the fact that few people want to be the first to integrate a community and that most prefer to live and communicate with their friends . . . whatever the reason, the teacher finds small numbers of students but with academic needs equaling those of students in urban population centers.

Second, *it is a scattered population.* Why? . . . because there is little cohesion among the minority culture community, outside of Hispanic groups. Individual, isolated jobs have brought the different cultural groups to our rural areas; most have not come to join relatives or friends. In the case of the Vietnamese, they were originally sponsored by church groups and the church groups themselves were scattered; thus, many Vietnamese are now living in very remote areas because of this sponsorship.

Third, *there are many language groups and few students in each group.*

Fourth, *the majority community does not have an opportunity to hear a second language spoken in the course of the day.* In other words, the community (which includes teachers) is not oriented toward bilingualism or second languages being a part of their lives.

Fifth, there is resentment toward outsiders in small towns. Small towns are less anonymous than cities and very possessive of their own culture, ideas and people.

Sixth, the community is not oriented toward minority issues. Minority involvement in school programs and minority power are generally unheard of in these rural areas in contrast to large urban centers. It is just something school administrators have not had to contend with.

And, seventh, administrators and teaching staff are not oriented toward accepting or requiring specialists in language teaching for ESL and bilingual staff. Certification can be overlooked more easily when the numbers aren't there. Administrators tend to look on the second language pupil as a temporary phenomenon; with time, the problem will go away.

There are additional factors. With a surplus of teachers in public schools, administrators will recycle teachers from other fields into ESL. University programs have often not included certification requirements in their TESOL programs. In earlier years universities were training teachers for positions that didn't require certification. And now when TESOL teachers want to enter the public schools, the doors are closed. Finally, public school administrators don't realize what skills are needed to teach ESL. For all of these reasons, specialists in ESL are not sought out by small town administrators.

Pupil Situation

Now let's take a look at the ESL student in the small town setting. We'll first talk about sociological and psychological needs and then move to academic.

The student finds himself surrounded by peers, teachers, administrators, and neighbors who don't know his language. He is isolated from his language and culture, not only in the classroom but in the community as well. He can't express his frustrations at his own native language level, nor in a way that may be acceptable in his own culture. Emotionally he is blocked, for while one may be able to begin reading all over again at a low level in a second language, one just does not "lower level it" when it comes to emotions.

The student is different and this differentness causes various reactions; some negative, some positive and some neutral: they love him or hate him, depending on his language status, depending on how many other ESL students there are from his country or background (but Puerto Rican children always seem to end up at the bottom in our part of the country).

He may have a lower self-concept than do children in urban schools because of his isolation from peers from his own culture. Often it is only with the ESL tutor that he communicates.

Precisely because his family has gone against the common practice of moving to the city, he may, instead of showing the usual withdrawn, con-

descending symptoms accepted by rural people, shown an aggressiveness, the very aggressiveness which gave him the fortitude to move away from the city in the first place. This aggressiveness, even though it may not surpass that which is normally acceptable in the middle class non-minority population, will surprise rural people and will not be considered acceptable behavior in the classroom.

The student may tend to rely on the ESL tutor too much. His academic needs are no different from those of his urban peers but the resources are different: the conditions surrounding his academic study are different. And the ESL teacher should be made aware of these.

Teacher Situation

We've looked at the community itself and the student. Now let's describe the teacher situation.

Multiple levels in one room: This, of course, results from the fact that the population is small and scattered.

Pull-out program of a tutorial nature: While not preferred in high population areas, pull-out programs are necessary when numbers are few. The ESL teacher will have the child from a few minutes to perhaps an hour a day or week. The teacher will find extremes from three or more hours a day in some districts to a few minutes a day in others.

Resistance from the regular classroom teacher precisely because it is a pull-out program. The program causes disruption in the daily schedule; the student misses math for ESL, etc. Or the opposite extreme may be true: the teacher may disown him and be happy to have him with ESL teacher all day.

Travel from school to school. The teacher might possibly spend more time on the road than in the classroom teaching. All pupils might not be seen every day to economize on mileage and time.

The ESL teacher might be teaching the entire reading program.

The ESL teacher might actually be hired not as a teacher but as a part-time tutor with all the rights, privileges and status accorded such persons. She might be paid on an hourly basis with no paid preparation time. She might not get tuition reimbursement for university training. She has no job security and perhaps certification is not required.

Looking at the parents of the students the teacher will find that parents generally do not go to the school. They are intimidated. They do not see themselves as having any right or opportunity to take part in educational decisions affecting their children. This problem falls squarely on the shoulders of the ESL teacher, because it is assumed that the ESL teacher has the responsibility of involving the non-English-speaking parents in the school.

And finally, *parents, coming from many different language/culture groups, do not have the same expectations for curriculum, classroom organi-*

zation, teaching methods, subject matter, etc. In other words, the ESL teacher/tutor of multicultural students will have many worlds to deal with as far as parents are concerned.

Training Suggestion

And so, what training suggestions do I have for ESL teachers who face the situation we find in rural areas? I group my suggestions into two distinct areas: first, the content of the training program, and second, the structure of the training program.

Content. As for content, I ask universities to continue to emphasize such courses as:

- a) American Sound System
- b) Materials Analysis and Adaptation
- c) ESL Methods
- d) Introduction to Linguistics

The problem for us, however, is that the above courses are not readily available to teachers, and administrators do not demand them. Therefore, we must find a way to get these courses out to the teachers in rural areas, teachers, who, because they many times are hired as part-time tutors, because their schools don't care if they have specialized training, because they live away from the large university centers, cannot and will not travel an hour or more for a course.

Second, I also ask universities to give equal attention to the following areas, especially for the teacher who is not of the culture or language background of the pupil:

- a) Contrastive Linguistics
- b) Contrastive Cultures

Thirdly, very important is training in:

- a) Teaching Reading in the Elementary School

Our ESL tutors have to teach beginning reading skills. Many of our first teachers came from adult education or foreign language teaching. We soon found ourselves overwhelmed with the task of teaching beginning reading to elementary and secondary pupils, some of whom could read in their own language and many of whom could not. Introducing reading to the ESL pupil was the job of the ESL tutor and even when the school reading teacher was assigned to the task, we found she did not have the tools to do the job either.

A fourth area of concern is with classroom organization. Teachers need to deal with multi-levels, staggered scheduling, irregular attendance. I highly recommend training in the following areas:

- a) Individualized Instruction
- b) Pupil Evaluation
- c) Peer Teaching
- d) Classroom Organization

Fifth, another very important area of content is:

- a) Curriculum in the Elementary School

Teaching ESL in the content areas is a must for us. We are charged with getting students up to grade level in subject areas. We should not teach language out of context but through math, American history, etc. In order to do this we need to know what is required in the elementary curriculum.

For a sixth suggestion I would recommend that colleges put an emphasis on examining the unique features of teaching areas and teaching situations. There are certainly curriculum areas that can be generalized, but there are just as many areas pertinent to the teaching program which depend for success upon the teacher being aware of their uniqueness. The teacher should be alerted to these, she should be prepared to examine the existing community, to list the options for program design, and to design an ESL program to fit the needs of a specific community. Urban ESL programs will differ from one rural population to another. There is no reason why universities can't provide training in this kind of analysis so that a teacher will be prepared to design an effective program.

And last, please prepare rural teachers for their role of "not belonging". They travel from school to school, they are outsiders. It is essential that such teachers understand the communication system of a school. They come and go each day or week and no one feels protective toward them. Alert them to the advantages they will have if they can work their way into the existing system of the school; help them to open the door toward communication between the pupil and other school personnel. And don't explain to us that teachers can read about this in journals and magazines. This should be a planned part of the training program provided by the university, whether in full courses or as part of an on-going In Service training program in cooperation with the public schools.

Structure. I now turn to the structure of the training program; I believe that most universities have failed to see a need for change here. First, traditional three credit, fifteen week university courses do not reach our rural teachers. Why not emphasize short term mini-courses, courses which can be taken on weekends or half-days or evenings over three or four meetings. I am not suggesting that the content be cut, that the American Sound System, Transformational Grammar or Reading could be mastered in six hours; but the content could be broken down into units covering different time periods. Certainly areas such as individualized instruction, contrastive cultures, music, history, pupil evaluation, trends in language teaching could be

divided up. For teachers with little formal training, mini-courses are at least a start, and don't seem nearly as threatening and demanding as full semester courses.

Related to this first point is my second suggestion, that courses start with the practical and work back to the theoretical. While it is known that teacher preferences for in-service activities do not necessarily reflect their needs, universities should take into account that teachers will not flock to courses which smack of theory. According to Jones and Hayes (1980, 391):

The types of inservice education felt to be most beneficial were demonstration lessons and workshops. One probable reason for such a response is that teachers consider the activities to be immediately useful because of their focus on instructional materials and techniques rather than on underlying theory. However, in order for demonstration lessons and workshops to be assumed valid, the teachers must already possess the knowledge background needed to apply the methodology effectively and to generalize the techniques to a variety of applications.

Training has to open the door to theory; but set up training under such title as materials, or reading; weave the theory into the practical information. There is no reason why the American Sound System can't be included in an audio-visual course focusing on the use of tape recorders and learning stations.

Third, mini-courses or training, should be made available on a one-to-one course-workshop basis and in addition should also be made available as part of a full Master's degree or certificate program. The teacher could earn a degree over a period of 18 months or 2 years by attending training sessions on weekends or evenings on a regular basis. My experience has been that many part-time rural teachers are not interested in pursuing a full course of study in TESOL; but the door should be left open to do so.

A fourth and final suggestion is for the packaging of some courses into self-instructional units, similar to that of the NYS Education Bureau of Basic Continuing Education's "Teaching ESL: A Self-Instructional Course Study Guide." This particular guide has been heavily used by our tutors in Pennsylvania who have no intention of spending time in university courses. We could reach more if we packaged additional subjects.

Finally, I restate the position I took when I opened this presentation, that universities cannot overemphasize on-the-job training and staff development. For those who have been oriented toward providing TESOL training in one or two year Master's courses in the university setting, I ask, "Is it possible for a university to provide in advance all or even a minimum of the skills necessary for any teaching job? Have TESOL programs perhaps been designed around this idea? Have TESOL programs made a point of being involved in continuous upgrading opportunities for TESOL teachers? Perhaps an administrator may say he would like to hire only those people who already have the skills needed for the job, but "such (trained) people do not exist," according to David Champagne (1980, 400):

Such people do not exist. No preparation program can ever be that specific. And even if you find the people with the skills you need today, by tomorrow they will be partly incompetent and in five years they should have to be fired because your needs would be different.

My recommendation is to make available continuous upgrading opportunities. Put increased emphasis on In-Service Training. And I remind you that most of the TESOL degree programs are located in urban settings. If you are really interested in training for the small town public schools, I suggest you move out away from the urban university setting. See what the needs are out there and design a training program that rural teachers can and will participate in.

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Socio-Cultural Influences on the Communication Development of Asian ESL Students

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Teachers of English to Asian foreign-born students can significantly enhance the English language communication effectiveness of their students by including in their instructional program content which focuses upon comparisons and contrasts between Asian and American value priorities governing the use of spoken verbal communication. This paper presents a selected review of the literature exploring (1) the communication development of Asian and American students and (2) the adaptive capacity of Asians' communicative behavior toward the maximization of their options in education and employment within the context of the American societal mainstream.

The professional literature has begun to recognize the influence of socio-cultural factors on the ability of ESL students to communicate effectively with speakers of English (Alatis & Twaddell, 1976; Bauman, 1972; Fanselow & Light, 1977; Finocchiaro, 1974; Light & Osman, 1978; and Pialorsi, 1974). Inherent cultural differences between East and West are often manifested in communication difficulties over and above what purely verbal learning can resolve.

The research suggests that Asian students of English as a Second Language have special needs for assistance in the development of knowledge and skills which are nonlinguistic in nature but nonetheless necessary for effective communication outcomes when interacting with English speakers.

The first part of this paper will review selected research on the development of the communication behavior of Asians in addition to presenting comparisons between the development of Asian and American communication styles. The use of the term, Asian, in this paper will refer mainly to the Chinese and Japanese because of the relative availability of research for these two groups.

The second part will suggest some long-range implications of socio-cultural influences upon the communication behavior of Asian students. Culturally based attitudes toward the use of communication appear to

persist through successive generations of Asian offspring born and reared in the United States. The research suggests that the relative lack of emphasis on the development of spoken verbal skills in Asian cultures limits the range of choices of many Asians in education and their chances for advancement in employment.

Communication as a Composite of Processes

Human communication, according to Sereno and Mortensen (1970), is a "composite of processes," which involves the general determinants of human behavior, such as perceptions, learning, drives, emotions, attitudes, beliefs, values, decoding-encoding, meaning, messages, and social situations" (p. 4). Each individual has his unique way of perceiving and processing stimuli from events in the environment as he categorizes, structures, stores, retrieves information, and expresses his thoughts in a manner that is singularly his own. A person's communication style then "cannot be considered apart from the world he knows and perceives" (Sereno and Bodaken, 1975, p. 10), nor can it be considered apart from his cognitive style.

Cognitive style refers to "stable individual preferences in mode of perceptual organization and conceptual categorization of the external environment" (Kagan, Moss, & Sigel, 1963, p. 74). Three major cognitive styles identified by these investigators include the following:

- (1) descriptive-analytic—analysis and differentiation of stimulus complex components;
- (2) relational-contextual—categorization of stimuli based upon functional and thematic relationships of components;
- (3) inferential-categorical—classification of stimuli based upon the inferences the individual makes about the stimuli which are grouped together.

Cultural Influences upon Perception, Cognition and Communication

Much of the research on culturally influenced development of individual perceptual and cognitive modes generally makes distinctions between two types of cognitive styles, the analytical and relational (Gay, 1978). Americans of European descent, according to the research, tend more toward the use of analytical cognitive style while Americans of Negro, Mexican, Indian and Asian descent more often utilize the relational style:

Cognitive Styles

	Analytical (Euro-American)	Relational (Minorities)
Abstracting of stimuli from the environment	Objective	Subjective
Modes	Formal-logical or abstract	Descriptive, concrete, intuitive
Focus	Detail-specific	Global
Decision making	Application of universal criteria	Situation or context centered

The cognitive style of students of Euro-American descent is generally categorized as field independent and characterized by emphasis on the use of inductive, rational modes of reasoning, individual success, assertiveness, and competitiveness (Gay, 1978).

Asian students, on the other hand, exhibit more intuitive and contextual modes of thinking. Their orientation is toward group success and on individual behavior which emphasizes nonassertiveness, verbal restraint, cooperation, conformity, subordination of the individual to the group interest and obedience to authority (Gay, 1978; Ogawa, 1975; and Sue & Wagner, 1973).

A comparison study between Chinese and American students showed significant differences in cognitive styles (Chiu, 1972). The study involved a total of 221 fourth and fifth grade Chinese children from a rural area in the northern part of Taiwan, China, and a total of 316 Americans in the same grades from a rural area in northern Indiana. Both groups of subjects were from working- and middle-class families.

The instrument called for the students to identify any two out of three objects presented in a set, based upon the similarities or relationships of the objects to each other, and to state their reasons for their selections. The students were tested in classrooms by their respective teachers in their own languages.

The study found that the American students scored significantly higher ($p < .01$) in the descriptive-analytic and inferential-categorical styles while the Chinese students scored significantly higher ($p < .01$) in the relational-contextual style. The American students scored lowest in the relational-contextual style while the Chinese students scored lowest in the descriptive-analytical style (Chiu, p. 240). Chiu concluded that "in dealing with the external environment, Chinese children do not actively analyse or differentiate components of the stimulus complex" (p. 241).

These contrasts in the cognitive styles of American and Chinese students, says Chiu, may be explained by the different socialization emphases

of the two cultures. While the American child learns from an early age to perceive the world on an "individualistic basis" and tends to be "self-oriented" or "individual centered," the Chinese child learns to be "socio-oriented" or "situation-centered" (Chiu, p. 241). The socio-orientation of the Chinese child can inhibit his ability to perceive events in specific and discrete terms necessary for developing analytical modes of thinking. The individualistic orientation of the American child, on the other hand, can inhibit his development in perceiving events in environmental contexts of relationships or interdependence.

In traditional hierarchical societies such as in China (Taiwan), each individual learns very early in life his place in society and develops the attitudes and behaviors appropriate to his societal status and role, an orientation which may help to facilitate "a child's tendency to perceive objects in the environmental context in terms of mutual dependence or relationships" (p. 241). Chinese children, Chiu concludes, do not actively differentiate components or analyze stimulus complexes in the external environment.

The Americans in Chiu's study scored significantly higher than the Chinese children in the inferential-categorical cognitive style. Her research indicated agreement among scholars that the Chinese "lack intense interest in the imaginary and in abstract reasoning" (p. 241), preferring that which is concrete and can be immediately apprehended.

It appears, however, that there might be a relationship between the development of abstract thinking and Western-type schooling. Goodnow's study (Dasen, 1972, p. 26) investigating the Piagetian formal stage development of Chinese children in Hong Kong found that those who had attended English schools "performed as well or better than Europeans, whereas the results of her two other groups of low-income and semi- or full-Chinese schooling were somewhat depressed" (p. 26).

Tsunoda investigated the cognitive styles of sample groups of 200 Japanese and 200 United States American college students (Torrance and Sato, 1979) and found that 43.5 per cent of the Japanese respondents showed preference for the intuitive mode of problem solving in comparison to 21 per cent of the American respondents. His results also showed that 29.5 per cent of the Japanese respondents preferred logical approaches to problem solving as compared to 28 per cent of the American students. While 51 per cent of the American studies indicated equal preference for intuitive and logical approaches only 27 per cent of the Japanese showed this same preference. Tsunoda has found that second and third generations of Japanese descent born and reared in Western language environments, such as in the United States and Brazil, developed the same patterns as their Western peers.

The Piagetian literature, however, according to a cross-cultural review (Dasen, 1972), appears to be inconclusive as to whether there is any direct relationship between the development of abstract thinking and Western-type schooling.

Verbal Performance as Culturally-Specific

In a study on the various mental abilities of six- and seven-year-old Chinese, Jewish, Negro, and Puerto Rican children in New York (Stodolsky & Lesser, 1971), the Chinese children achieved the highest scores on mental abilities of reasoning and space conceptualization while scoring significantly lower on verbal abilities than the Jewish and Negro children. The Jewish children, on the other hand, scored the highest on their verbal and numerical abilities but lower than the Chinese on reasoning and space conceptualization abilities.

A replication study on Chinese and Negro first graders in Boston showed almost identical raw mean scores with a difference from the New York performances of an average of one-third of one standard deviation for the Chinese children. Again, the Chinese scored much lower than the Negro students on their verbal abilities but much higher in reasoning, numerical, and space conceptualization abilities. The difference between the New York and Boston groups of Negro children was one-fifth of one standard deviation (Stodolsky & Lesser 1971, p. 49).

Socio-Cultural Origins of Communicative Behavior

The communicative behavior of children appears to be developed through experiences within the context of their socio-cultural environments (Allen & Brown, 1976; Gay, 1978; Longstreet, 1978; Matluck, 1979; and Naremore, 1977). Children learn culturally determined norms of communication behavior through interaction with parents and siblings with family groups. Through implicit means such as modeling and explicit instruction, a child's communication behavior is shaped in culturally appropriate ways (Hall, 1959; Naremore, 1976; Phillips, 1972). A comprehensive review of the literature on socio-cultural influences on the development of communication competencies of children is presented in *A report of the Speech Communication Association's National Project on Speech Communication Competencies* (Allen & Brown, 1977).

Cultural Influences on Communication from Early Infancy

Contrasts between the early shaping of Japanese and Caucasian communication styles were studied by Caudill and Weinstein (1969) in their comparison study of 30 Japanese and 30 American mothers on the ways in which they interacted with the 3- to 4-month-old infants. The differences that the investigators found appeared to indicate that cultural conditioning of communication behavior starts very early in infancy. The American mothers, they found, interacted more vocally with their infants and stimulated them to more physical and exploratory activity. The American infants

were found also to exhibit happier vocal behaviors and to be more physically active and more exploratory of their physical environment than the Japanese infants.

The Japanese mothers spent more time with their infants than did the American mothers and were more frequently in bodily contact with them, interacting more physically than verbally with their infants. These infants were found to be more physically acquiescent and passive than the comparison group of American infants.

Eoi (1974) remarked upon reviewing Caudill and Weinstein's findings that "Americans are conditioned from the very beginning of life to associate human contact with verbal communication whereas Japanese associate human contact with non-verbal and passive communication" (p. 20). Japanese and American communication patterns then are developed from early infancy in divergent directions.

Caudill and Weinstein concluded from their own study and from the findings of other investigators that three- to four-month-old infants learn very early in life to respond communicatively in culturally appropriate ways. They also speculated that if these distinctive cultural patterns of communicative behavior were to be perpetuated over a life span, potential consequences might result in conflict between people conditioned to communicate in such divergent modes.

A Comparison of Communication Accuracy in Children

A study of referential communication accuracy (Dickson, Hess, Miyake, & Azuma, 1979) investigated the accuracy of communication between 67 white American mother-and-child and 58 Japanese mother-and-child pairs. The children in both groups were 4- and 5-years old. In a referential communication task, the listener attempts to select the proper referent described by the speaker from a given set of alternative choices. The results of the study showed no significant differences in the mean number of errors when the mothers of both Japanese and American pairs took the role of the sender. There was a significant difference, however, when the roles were reversed and the children were senders and the mothers were receivers. There were 4.33 mean number of errors for the American children and 5.82 for the Japanese children. ($T = 2.72, p < .01$). The Japanese children, then, were found to communicate with significantly less accuracy than their American counterparts.

Speech Apprehension of Japanese Students

Japanese students were found to be more apprehensive than American students in dyadic, small group, and public communication situations in a study comparing 700 American and 700 Japanese college students (Ishii,

1978). Speech apprehensiveness, according to Ishii, manifests itself with the same symptoms that normal persons experience as stage fright in front of large audiences; however, these symptoms also extend to dyadic and small group communication situations. The test instrument used was McCroskey's Personal Report of Communication Apprehension for College students (PRCA-College).

Ishii identifies five areas of distinction between the Japanese and American cultures which might account for the greater speech communication apprehension of Japanese students in comparison with the American comparison group, as follows:

A group versus individualistic orientation, aesthetic versus cognitive style of communicating, nonpersuasive versus persuasive talk, insistence on total understanding versus flexibility, and indirect versus direct talk (Ishii, p. 1).

Influences of Buddhism and Confucianism on Verbal Reticence

Sharing a common heritage in Confucian and Buddhist beliefs, the Japanese, Koreans, and Chinese emphasize judicious use of verbal expression. The influence of Confucian ethics is pervasive in the highly structured human relationships in Japan and permeates all levels of society. Confucianism has not survived as an organized philosophy in contemporary Japan according to Reischauer; however, its values wield more influence on the daily lives of the Japanese than any other religions or philosophies through providing

The moral basis of government, the emphasis on interpersonal relations and loyalties, and faith in education and hard work (Reischauer 1977 p. 214).

Zen Buddhism places a high value on silence and nonverbal communication of ideas and feelings. The Zen teaching style relies on modeling and intuition which does not encourage verbalization between teacher and pupil, and "a large amount, often the essential part is left unsaid (Morsbach 1971, p. 241).

Residual Effects of the Culture of Origin on Communication

According to studies across successive generations of Japanese residing in Hawaii and California (Johnson & Johnson, 1975; and Kitano, 1969), residual effects of the culture of origin appear to remain influential in governing the day-to-day interactional behavior of Japanese Americans. The reserved, nonassertive communication style of the culture of origin generally persists through successive generations of Japanese born and reared in the United States (Gehrie, 1976; Johnson & Johnson, 1975; and Yamamoto, 1973), despite their apparent assimilation into the large American societal mainstream (Johnson & Johnson; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1975; and Yoshioka, Hayashi, Lok, Ota, Sakai, & Watanabe, 1973).

Communication Implications for Education and Career Choices

A study entitled *Asian Americans and Public Higher Education in California*, prepared for the Joint Committee on the Master Plan for Higher Education in California of the California Legislature (Yoshioka et al., 1973), indicated the need to provide better preparation for Asian students in the elementary and secondary grades in order to broaden the range of their academic and subsequent occupational and professional choices. The study recommends course work and counseling appropriate to meeting special culturally associated needs of Asian students. Asian cultures, the study points out, value a nonassertive, restrained communication style (Kim, 1977; Kitano, 1969; Ogawa, 1975; and Yoshioka et al 1973) which is maladapted to optimal functioning in mainstream American society. The assertive, expressive mode of communication prevails as the far more appropriate and functional norm for the latter (Barnlund, 1975; Sue, 1973; and Yoshioka et al 1973).

The home socialization of Asian Americans prepares them in the development of communication patterns which are appropriate for interaction within their own family and ethnic community groups. These patterns, however, are not effective in school and other communication situations which involve interaction with the large society (Kumagai, 1978; Kuroiwa, 1975; Ogawa, 1975; Sue & Sue, 1972; Takeuchi, 1975; and Watanabe, 1973). The nonassertive, reticent communication norms with emphasis on the nonverbal mode observed by people from Asian cultural backgrounds, such as Chinese, Japanese, and Korean, are often inadequate for effective functioning "in a society that rewards the assertive and high verbal" (Kuroiwa, 1975, p. 34), an argument supported by many other scholars (Gay, 1978; Johnson, 1972; and Ogawa, 1975).

Generally represented in professions and occupations which require minimum verbal expression, e.g., in mathematics, engineering, chemistry, accounting, and business, Asian Americans have been under-represented in career areas requiring verbal skills such as in law, advertising, and journalism (Kuroiwa, 1975; Sue, 1973). They are enrolled in higher education in significantly greater numbers in the physical and natural sciences than in the humanities and social sciences (Sue, 1973; Watanabe, 1973, Yoshioka et al, 1973).

Communication and Underemployment

In the American society, which "rewards those who are assertive, confident and highly verbal, Asians do not realize parity between their educational, occupational and income levels" (Hart & Conlon, p. 11). Asian Americans have often maintained their entry level positions for years,

according to Kumagai. When employers have been challenged as to their reasons for not upgrading their Asian employees, says Kumagai, they typically reply that "They lack aggression, they're too quiet, they're passive" (Kumagai 1978, p. 8).

The lack of parity between levels of education, employment, and income has been investigated by Young (1977); when variables of education and occupation are held constant, the Japanese and Chinese fall below Caucasian Americans in income received.

Conclusion

As many scholars have stressed, it is important for ESL teachers to assist their students in gaining knowledge of the cultural norms of the larger society along with the English language. For many foreign-born students whose own cultures have conditioned them to behave nonassertively in communication situations, the adaptation to assertive communication behaviors, which are more functional in American society, does not transpire automatically through the assimilation process.

Although ESL students may be able to develop their proficiency in the technical use of the English language, there is a likelihood that they may continue to face limitations in their ability to interact and function with full effectiveness with members of the larger society. The research indicates the pervasiveness of culturally based communication behavior which is maladapted to Asian Americans' attaining full access to a broad range of opportunities in education and employment. Keeping the foregoing in mind, I make the following recommendations:

1. ESL and bilingual teachers need to be aware that the home training of Asian children encourages reticent and nonassertive communication behavior. Asian children thus need to be assisted in developing expressive skills which are far more functional when interacting with members of the larger society. This includes the use of appropriate verbal and nonverbal communication skills.

2. Parents need to be made aware of the functional realities of appropriate communication behavior, which depend upon context and situation. They need to understand that while the communication norms of their own cultures are effective within their own socio-cultural contexts, these norms may not be functional in the larger society. They need to be made aware that their children will be experimenting at home with the new assertive communication skills they learn either during the course of interacting with or observing their American peers. This behavior may also be the result of thorough explicit instruction by their teachers who encourage students to "speak up" and to express their opinions in class.

3. Parents need to be cautioned about unduly sanctioning their children in their attempts to accommodate communication patterns from cultures

which observe different value priorities in communication behavior.

4. Teachers need to avoid the temptation of allowing Asian children to remain passive participants in their classes. Such children are deprived of the opportunity to develop their oral language skills. In keeping with a long established precept in the teaching of skills which holds that "practice makes perfect," Asian children need to be provided occasions for oral language practice.

5. The small group discussion format has been recommended in the research as an effective context for oral language development for Asian students.

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Critical Incidents Workshop for ESL Teacher Intercultural Awareness Training

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Theory and research in intercultural communication suggest that educating individuals in the complexity of intercultural situations can help them avoid misunderstandings, relieve tensions and work for a resolution of problems. Critical incidents, or anecdotes of actual student-teacher or student-student misunderstanding, have been used along with a variety of other techniques for intercultural awareness training. The Critical Incidents Workshop (CIW) offers a novel application of the critical incidents technique to the training of ESL teachers. Developed and used at the University of Minnesota, CIW offers a non-threatening and indirect way for teachers to learn to understand and cope with conflict in their multicultural classrooms. This article suggests that expectations, perceptions, attributions, and ethnocentricity are sources of conflict in the ESL classroom. It offers steps for teacher trainers at all levels of education to collect and write their own critical incidents as well as to conduct a CIW for ESL teachers at their particular institution.

Introduction

If we choose to define culture in part as those learned behaviors which people are inclined not to question, then a variety of different unquestioned behaviors should be found in a culturally mixed ESL classroom. Teachers and international students alike may find that their expectations about each other are not fulfilled and that the meaning they have always attributed to certain behaviors do not necessarily hold true. Their own behaviors may be misinterpreted and their sense of what is right and good may appear, perhaps for the first time, not to be universal. Interactions with other individuals may lead to misunderstanding, causing the individual to feel surprised, disappointed, confused, even threatened, defensive, or angry. In extreme cases a misunderstanding may lead to open conflict.

It is often assumed that persons who enter into ESL teaching bring with them a sophisticated intercultural awareness from their past experiences and interests, and sometimes this assumption is a fair one. But all too often even

experienced ESL teachers find themselves in subtle or complex situations of intercultural misunderstanding which they find difficult to understand, let alone resolve.

Theory and research in intercultural communication (Hoopes and Ventura, 1979, Stewart, 1972; Fieg and Yaffee, 1977) suggest that educating individuals in the complexity of intercultural situations can help them avoid misunderstanding and, in the event of conflict, permit them to relieve tensions and work for a resolution of the problem. This requires educating both teachers and students.

A wide variety of techniques for intercultural awareness training have been developed. The Intercultural Communication Workshop has in recent years replaced the sensitivity training group as a method to "increase awareness of the cultural influences on human values and behavior and thereby break through cultural barriers to communication" (Fieg and Yaffee, 1977:52). The Cultural Assimilator is "a programmed learning approach designed to increase isomorphic attributions between members of two cultures" which it accomplishes "by giving information about both content (differences in norms, roles, etc.) and structures, kinds of differentiations that are needed to understand the point of view of the other culture" (Triandis, 1975:45). Ready-to-use role plays, simulations, and situational exercises have proliferated (Hoopes and Ventura, 1979), while instructions for writing of one's own culture capsules, culture clusters, and mini-dramas are readily available (Seelye, 1976). In an effort to prepare Peace Corps volunteers for their experience abroad, Stewart (1972) provided a catalog of American cultural patterns, and as Furey (1980) more recently demonstrated, the presentation of an inventory of cultural variables is still a popular format for intercultural awareness training.

Alternatives to these methods, which *explicitly* teach intercultural factors, are methods which *implicitly* lead the individual to self-discovery of intercultural principles. Implicit teaching of culture is accomplished by various kinds of structured experiences, where participants are given a specific group or small group task as the basis for discussion (Condon, 1980; Weeks et al., 1977). As the basis for structured experiences, some culture trainers have suggested the use of "critical incidents" (Weeks et al., 1977; Barnak, 1979, Moran, 1974). A unique application of the critical incident technique to the training of ESL teachers in intercultural awareness is offered by this Critical Incidents Workshop.

Developed and used with teachers at the University of Minnesota, the Critical Incidents Workshop (CIW) answers the need for teachers to learn to understand and cope with misunderstanding and conflict in their classrooms. In the CIW, teachers are presented with anecdotes of actual classroom conflict which have been identified by the teachers themselves as a source of frustration or confusion. The workshop participants break into small groups to discuss all possible issues raised by the incidents and to con-

sider all possible alternative actions by the teacher. This is followed by a discussion and debriefing for the entire group.

There are advantages to the use of the Critical Incidents Workshop over other methods. The CIW avoids the unreal quality of simulations and structured experiences based on hypothetical situations. It allows for identification with a problem, a sharing of points of view, and a forced consideration of alternative actions. Unlike the lecture format or inventory of cultural variables, it stimulates thoughts and feelings which eventually reveal cultural differences in a way which is indirect and non-threatening. This non-threatening quality makes the workshop suitable for training not only the new and inexperienced ESL teacher, but also the teacher who is confident, experienced, and well-traveled. Further, the CIW teaches cultural awareness within the context of an actual situation which includes many variables. It does this by making no explicit mention of "culture" as a topic; instead, by presenting incidents with potential for cultural discussion, it allows for cultural factors to emerge naturally alongside the many other factors which play roles in classroom conflicts, such as personality and classroom management techniques. The CIW is adaptable in that it can be used by teacher trainers who work with ESL teachers at all levels of education.

Sources of Conflict in the ESL Classroom

Schools in general set the stage for the acting out of conflicting cultural values because of the close tie between education and culture:

Every educational system is irrevocably linked to its society's class structure, social mobility, basic values, social norms, and even the structuring of rewards and punishments. (Fieg and Yaffee, 1977:38)

and we might even consider the dissemination of cultural values as one of the unspoken duties of all teachers. The ESL classroom in particular can be the stage for a drama which ends in conflict. There are a variety of forms which the conflict can take: silent misunderstanding or open conflict, among individuals or groups, between teacher and student or among students.

Some of Sarbaugh's "Principles of Communication Applied Interculturally" (1979) explain how the cultural complexity of the ESL classroom can be a source of conflict:

1. As the heterogeneity of the participants in a communication situation increases, the efficiency of the communication will decline.
2. As the number of persons participating in a communication increases, the number of potential alternate outcomes increases.
3. As the number of participants increases, the time and energy required to achieve consensus of an issue or question requiring resolution will increase at an increasing rate.
6. When an individual has others with him who hold to a similar view,

he is more likely to express that view and cling to it in the face of an opposing view. (Sarbaugh, 1979:63ff)

Thus the heterogeneity of the mixed-cultural group, the size of the group, or the numerical dominance of one cultural group may decrease the efficiency of communication, increase the number of possible outcomes, and delay consensus.

Milburn (1977) writing on conflict resolution, suggests another source of conflict:

Conflict and violence between cultural representatives occur more often between those who are competing for scarce resources in situations perceived as zero sum (i.e. where for one party to "win" the other must "lose"). (74-75)

Franco Brusati's film "Bread and Chocolate" (1976) graphically illustrates the competition between foreigners in a host country. Whether ESL students are seeking recognition by the teacher or a place at the university which has a limited quota for foreign students, they may feel the pressure of competition with each other for scarce resources.

Ethnocentric views held by teachers or students can be at the source of a conflict. Ethnocentrism was defined years ago as involving at least three basic factors: "integration and loyalty among ingroup members, hostile relations between ingroup and outgroup members, and positive self-regard among ingroup members in contrast to derogatory stereotyping of outgroup characteristics . . . also an acceptance of ingroup values and standards as universally accepted" (Seelye, 1976:87). The need for people to influence others may be universal and "violence may be perceived as the only way available to keep from getting destroyed or otherwise losing" (Milburn, 1977:76). Perception is a key word in understanding conflicts, particularly the perception of a threat of some kind:

One kind of conflict has to do with threat perception and motivated mutual defense. Each party may feel threatened by the other, and each may see defensively motivated steps that the other takes as threatening to its own interest. Such conflicts are particularly susceptible to escalation. (Milburn, 1977:75)

Perceived threats are not easily controllable because, as basic theory tells us, "Perception resides in the perceiver and not in the external world" (Stewart, 1972:15). Once a conflict has erupted in an ESL classroom, attempts at resolution may not be so simple, either. When a third party—another student or the teacher—tries to mediate, a second-order conflict may ensue (Milburn, 1977:76).

Which method of conflict resolution the teacher or mediator chooses is determined in part by that person's cultural orientation. The very fact that there may be interest among American ESL teachers in conflict resolution reflects a sort of cultural bias:

When faced with a problem, Americans like to get to its source. This means facing the facts, meeting the problem head on, putting the cards on the table and

getting information 'straight from the horse's mouth'. It is also desirable to face people directly, to confront them intentionally. (Stewart, 1972:52)

Further, "Americans assume that if we talk enough, the problem will be solved" (Pederson and Howell in Weeks et al., 1977:x). Yet these assumptions may not be shared by other cultures.

The need for teacher training in intercultural awareness becomes evident when we consider that ESL teachers are as much "foreigners" in the mixed-cultural classroom as their students and that it is equally difficult for teachers to view classroom occurrences objectively. In effect, they fall victim to the same factors of cultural expectations, perceptions, attributions, and the ethnocentric view which may be at the source of a problem. We can see how these factors play a role in the daily work of an ESL teacher by considering an example. Let us consider the most common complaint registered by teachers used in this study, the occurrence of a student's being consistently late for class. The incident can be described as follows:

Five minutes after class has begun, a student enters the room, smiles at the teacher, and takes a seat. The teacher asks for an excuse; the student offers none. The teacher feels uncomfortable and responds in a strident voice, "This is the last time I will let you come in late". The student says nothing but feels confused, then angry.

In this incident, a misunderstanding has occurred which can be explained in one of several ways.

Expectations. Although the teacher may not have been surprised by the late entrance of the student, as an American the teacher probably expected some kind of story or excuse, even an implausible one, but received none. Further, the teacher probably expected some behavior on the part of the student which would indicate a sense of shame for being late; instead, the teacher was met by what was interpreted as a shameless smile. The student, on the other hand, may have expected some kind of welcome from the teacher but instead received harsh words. Both of their expectations went unfulfilled.

Perceptions. Using a Description-Interpretation-Evaluation (DIE) analysis (Wendt, 1979), we can suggest that the following difference in perception may have occurred.

First, from the teacher's point of view:

Description: The student entered late again.

Interpretation: The student is either lazy or is defying my authority.

Evaluation: I am angry at this student.

From the student's point of view, there may have been very different perceptions, thoughts, and feelings:

Description: The teacher didn't smile but spoke harshly.

Interpretation: The teacher is angry at me every day for no good reason.

Maybe the teacher doesn't like students from my country.

Evaluation: I feel victimized, hurt, and angry.

Attributions. The teacher and student may attribute different meaning to the same behavior, and neither is able to imagine what the other person intended or believes to have occurred. The teacher may have adopted the ethnocentric view that promptness is good and tardiness is bad, having learned in childhood that "the early bird gets the worm", whereas the student may hold the ethnocentric view that if tardiness is acceptable in one culture, it is acceptable in all.

To resolve this misunderstanding, both teacher and student need to learn to make what Triandis (1975) calls "isomorphic attributions", in effect to think, "If I had been raised in the other person's culture, I would have acted the same way". Both parties in the misunderstanding need to abandon their ethnocentric views for cultural-relativistic positions (Fieg and Yaffee, 1977) and to show what Bennett (1979) calls "empathy" by imagining what the other is experiencing.

The Goals of Intercultural Awareness Training

The goal of intercultural awareness training for ESL teachers should be to help them both in coping with complex intercultural situations and in managing the classroom to the benefit of all parties involved. In terms of personal development, the teacher can learn to have a wide range of expectations and to try to make isomorphic attributions about student behavior. In this way the teacher will be prepared for the unusual and will be more equipped to understand it when it occurs. This will hopefully minimize the frustration and pain sometimes associated with misunderstanding:

When people belong to different cultures or have different subjective cultures, interpersonal interaction is painfully unpleasant; however, when individuals are trained to understand the subjective cultures of other groups, there is some evidence of improved intergroup relationship. (Fiedler et al., 1971 in Triandis, 1975:39).

In terms of classroom management, the teacher can learn to adopt a less ethnocentric view, to avoid misunderstanding, and to work for conflict resolution. An ESL teacher can, for example, learn to avoid disaster by *not* beginning a course with caveats such as, "I'm not really an expert. . ." or, "You probably know more than me about this. . ." (Fieg and Yaffee, 1977). Such comments may be seen by American students as an appropriate attempt by the teacher to equalize the status of the speaker with the audience, but may be viewed by international students as a sign of lack of expertise or unprofessionalism. The result may be loss of student confidence in the teacher and ensuring dissatisfaction for both students and the teacher. Be-

sides learning to make isomorphic attributions, ESL teachers need to develop interpersonal competence in intercultural encounters. This means "developing the ability to reinforce the other person, which is made possible by knowing something about the norms, roles, attitudes, values, and other factors which might be included in the term 'subjective culture'" (Triandis, 1975:45).

The teacher trainer should be alert to the pitfalls of intercultural awareness training because there are some things which it should *not* be. Triandis (1975) warns that the goal of intercultural training should *not* be to learn to understand and control others' behavior completely. To a certain extent, students should remain free from manipulation by the teacher. The goal should not be to disseminate information but should be to sensitize, to encourage "the development of an investigative, non-judgmental attitude and a high tolerance for ambiguity—which means lowered defenses (Triandis, 1975:45). In areas such as non-verbal communication, which includes body movement and the use of time and space, teachers can learn to be observers, suspending judgment about the intended meaning of certain behaviors until a large amount of data are available (Fieg and Yaffee, 1977). Another danger is that incomplete intercultural training can reinforce behavior and attitude stereotypes, to the detriment of the parties involved: "Knowing 'what to expect' too often blinds the observer to all but that which confirms his image or preconception" (Barna, 1975:28).

Fieg and Yaffee wrote, "Only when a person is presented with alternative cultural values does he become aware of the assumption underlying his own values, which he has heretofore unconsciously taken as a given" (1977: 50). The need therefore is to expose American teachers of ESL to alternative value systems in order to expose their own ethnocentric tendencies. Yet it can be quite threatening to have one's biases exposed, particularly in a culture and profession where open-minded attitudes toward other cultures are often assumed. Opportunity must be provided for individuals to explore in a non-threatening way the extent to which their own beliefs and values and resulting behaviors are shaped by their own cultural point of view. Providing this opportunity is another of the goals of the Critical Incidents Workshop.

Collecting and Writing Critical Incidents

The first task of the teacher trainer is to assess the needs of the target population for intercultural training. This can be accomplished by informally talking to teachers about their classroom experiences. While many people may be reluctant to talk about "problems", I have found teachers eager to complain and delighted to find a sympathetic ear, and so the initial focus might be on the complaints which the teachers have about occurrences in their classrooms. While an experienced facilitator may want to focus directly on current problems, many teacher trainers may prefer to limit conversations

to past happenings in order to avoid becoming the third party in an ongoing conflict. Listening to more than one teacher may reveal common themes—situations of common frustration or discomfort with certain issues or cultural groups. These informal conversations will reveal the level of sophistication of the teachers in understanding conflict in their classrooms, and this information combined with common themes will provide a basis for the selection of occurrences to be developed into critical incidents.

Following this initial assessment of teacher needs, the next step is to select those anecdotes which meet all three of the following criteria: the problem must (1) have no single solution, (2) call for action by the teacher, and (3) have possible intercultural misunderstanding as a causative factor. After determining which anecdotes satisfy these criteria, a second conference with each teacher should be scheduled to elicit as much background information about the occurrence as possible. The second interview should supply the following four kinds of context in very fine detail:

1. Temporal Context

- year
- season
- semester
- day of the week
- time of day
- part of class hour
- simultaneous occurrences
 - inside the classroom (e.g. during an exam)
 - outside the classroom (e.g. during a revolution in a certain country)

2. Spatial Context

- country
- city
- climate
- type, size, and location of the institution
- type of building
- spatial arrangement of furniture and people in the classroom

3. Human Context

- age
- sex
- nationality
- level of education
- friends
- family
- usual behavior
- names

4. The Action

- what happened before the incident
- what happened during the incident

- what happened after the incident
- who did and said what
- sequence of events
- how the narrator felt at various points in the action

In recording the action it is important to note specific behaviors. For example, if a teacher says that a student was angry, find out what specific action, gesture, facial expression, or words indicated to the teacher that the student was angry.

In writing a critical incident, all of the above details are crucial because any one of them may hold the key to understanding the incident, and the presence or absence of any one detail may significantly alter the incident. Since it is impossible to recreate the situation in the exact context in which it occurred, it is the task of the writer to select those details which seem essential to an understanding of the problem. It will also be necessary to change names to conceal the identity of the parties involved, and changing some details may also be necessary to assure anonymity. However, since alterations affect the context, changes should be made with discretion.

Using the notes from the interviews with teachers, the teacher trainer can shape the anecdotes into critical incidents. To begin writing, select either a narrative or dialog format. First give relevant background information and then relate the incident itself, stopping the action at a pivotal point in the action where the teacher must make the next move. Experiment with different endings to locate the point which will provoke the best discussion. Evaluate the potential of an incident by having several people read it and list as many plausible issues at stake and alternative actions by the teacher as possible. If there seems to be only one obvious issue or action, either alter the incident or discard it altogether. Copy the final version onto a card and, as you develop a file of critical incidents, you may want to number or code them in some way.

The following three critical incidents can serve as examples of (I) student-student conflict, (II) teacher-class misunderstanding, and (III) potential student-student or student-teacher conflict.

I. Said came from Tunisia. In his ESL speaking class at the university he asserted himself by trying to give all the answers and by generally intimidating the other students.

One day in class, after students were seated around the table and the lesson had begun, a student entered the room late, a young woman from West Africa. Finding Said's book bag on her chair, she picked it up and forcefully slammed it on the table in front of Said. Then she calmly took her seat.

Furious, Said looked first at the woman threateningly and then turned to the teacher for help. "Did you see that?" he asked. "What are you going to do about that?"

All eyes turned on the teacher.

II. A certain ESL teacher felt good about the student-teacher relationship which had developed in grammar class. One sunny morning, the teacher bounced into class and scrawled in large letters on the blackboard, "T.G.I.F." The students were naturally curious as to what that meant.

The teacher explained that the letters stood for "Thank God It's Friday," indicating relief that the week's work was over and excitement that the weekend was approaching.

To the teacher's amazement, a dead silence fell over the class. A student near the teacher's desk broke the silence by asking, "Don't you like us anymore?"

III. The word "infamous" appeared in the reading text during a university ESL class, and a student asked for a definition. The teacher thought for a moment for a good example.

"Infamous means 'famous' in a negative sense. For example, you could say that Hitler was infamous."

"Hitler wasn't infamous," retorted a student from Libya. "In my country, he is a hero."

The teacher glanced at the Russian Jewish immigrant in the back row and wondered what to say or do.

Conducting a Critical Incidents Workshop

- Equipment:** a room with moveable seating, three or more critical incidents, blank cards
a blackboard or other writing board
a watch or timer
- Time:** 1½ hours
- Participants:** teachers of ESL at the institution where the incidents were collected, or a comparable institution
- Procedure:**

1. Explain the purpose of the workshop.
 - a. to discover the issues at the source of conflict and misunderstanding in ESL classrooms
 - b. to propose alternative actions by the teacher to resolve these issues
 - c. to encourage understanding between teachers and their students and among students

NB Do *not* introduce the workshop as a study of intercultural factors.
2. Establish rapport with the audience.
 - a. ask about their past experiences teaching ESL and living and traveling abroad
 - b. share similar information about yourself
3. Describe the critical incidents.
 - a. actual classroom situations involving teachers and students
 - b. examples of misunderstanding or conflict
 - c. incidents with no single cause or solution
4. Explain your role as facilitator.
 - a. to structure time, space, and activity
 - b. *not* to provide answers; there are no right or wrong answers
5. Explain the procedure for discussion.
 - a. summarize numbers 7 through 15 of the procedure below
6. Divide participants into groups.
 - a. about six persons per group, mixing people of differing backgrounds
 - b. form groups into circles
7. Give each group one incident and two blank cards.
8. Instruct one member of each group to read the incident aloud.
9. Ask for discussion of the incidents to begin.

- a. to identify all possible *issues* and *actions*
 - b. stick to the topic and discuss only those details in the incident itself
 - c. the facilitator should circulate, listening to but not participating in discussion
10. Instruct one group member to record the "issues" on one of the blank cards and "actions" on the other.
 11. As the groups finish discussion, collect the incidents and cards; given each group a second and third incident and blank cards if time permits.
 12. After about 45 minutes, collect all remaining incidents and cards.
 13. Instruct participants to return to one large group.
 14. Take all the "issues" cards and read them aloud to the group, asking them to identify common themes. Write these words or phrases on the blackboard. Ask the group to further reduce these to several words or phrases.
 15. Do the same for "actions".
 16. Begin debriefing.
 - a. form a large circle
 - b. discuss (1) the *ideas* which resulted from discussion and (2) the *feelings* which resulted from discussion
 17. Invite teachers to discuss their own "critical incidents" with each other after the workshop.
 18. Administer an evaluation.
 - a. in the form of a discussion or written questionnaire
 - b. ask about the usefulness of the workshop to the participants

Suggested Adaptations of the Critical Incidents Workshop

1. Role play a critical incident, first as it happened and then as it might have happened if someone had acted differently.
2. Change one basic element—the time or place, sex, age, or nationality of one person—and discuss whether that would have made a difference.
3. Complete a rating scale to indicate the extent to which you agree with the opinions, attitudes, or actions of the teacher in an incident (adapted from Weeks et al., 1977:21).
4. Find out why an incident was perceived as an example of misunderstanding by one person but not by another.
5. Discuss stereotypes: does the incident promote or destroy a stereotype?
6. Discuss to what extent an incident reflects personal values as opposed to cultural values.
7. Conduct a fishbowl discussion: as one group discusses an incident, the others listen and later comment on how the discussion reflected the cultural bias of the participants.
8. Discuss sources of conflict and methods of conflict resolution.

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Two Word / Two Way Communication and Communicative Competence

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As native speakers of English are observed in communicative situations, their use of complete sentences with all available information, however redundant, is not observed and often presents difficulty for the ESL learner. Many speakers, in fact, in an effort to obtain necessary information in a conversation, resort to apocopated speech forms which assume an underlying competence. A typical set of dialogues might look like the following:

- | | |
|------------------------|----------------------|
| Peter: Eat yet? | Paul: Whatsa matter? |
| James: No. You? | Upset stomach? |
| Peter: You hungry? | Judy: Not really |
| James: Little bit. | Just tired |
| Peter: Wanna sandwich? | Kids asleep? |
| James: Sure, thanks. | Paul: Not yet |
| | Coffee ready? |
| | Judy: Inna minute |
| | Tired, honey? |
| | Paul: A little. |

In both cases, the speakers have omitted what the learner has come to expect as vital grammatical information. Both parties, however, are communicating without recourse to correct standard grammar and sentence structure. Vital extralinguistic cues are no doubt available to both speakers. The underlying, omitted structures seems to be fairly consistent in that they are patterns required of *yes/no* questions. On the level of standard English, the above dialogues might be judged as non-standard but certainly common. As the ESL learner confronts situations of this type as an observer and likely participant, he tends to search his inventory of patterns learned in class and finds that no such question patterns have been drilled. The responses, though, have been drilled.

At issue is the required underlying competence an ESL learner must have in order to understand and, ultimately, to communicate at the same level. Sets of dialogues are studied to determine (1) the conditions under which such conversations take place, (2) the patterns of underlying omitted structures and (3) a rationale for teaching such structures.

In communicative situations among native speakers of English, there occur certain omissions in dialogue, the total comprehension of which is achieved on the basis of shared competence. Native speakers of English, in communicative situations, tend to abbreviate *Yes/No* questions, deleting

the Do, Be or Have auxiliary. In fact, what normally occurs is the reduction of a question or sentence to a binary set of elements that convey the message of the speaker. The abbreviation or apocopation triggers a deletion of elements unnecessary to the message. This is operating in the speaker and hearer a shared competence, the underlying expectation of which is the deletion. However, as will be demonstrated elsewhere in this paper, there exists a potential for ambiguity in the remaining two elements. The ambiguity may occur with respect to a temporal relation. Unhindered communication takes place because speaker and hearer share a competence of communicative omissions. Both participants in the dialogue are aware of the omitted lines and respond appropriately to each question with answers such as: *indeed, of course, really, which, uh uh, uhuh, not yet, later, yes, no, yeah, nope*, etc. The native speakers share a communicative competence that is balanced and unconscious. The ESL learner, on the other hand, tends to expect certain verbal forms in questions principally because they have been consciously conditioned through patterned exercise. In the communicative situation, the ESL learner is puzzled.

Before proceeding, a distinction between language styles or *registers*, as the sociolinguist calls them, needs to be made. The distinction is that between formal and informal speech. Akmajian, Demers and Harnish (1979: 183) define the informal speech considered in this study as follows:

Informal speech in our use of that term occurs in casual, relaxed social settings in which speech is spontaneous, rapid and uncensored by the speaker. Social settings for this style of speech would include chatting with close friends and interacting in an intimate or family environment or in similar relaxed settings.

Without being aware of it, each speaker of any language has mastered a number of styles. To illustrate, in a formal setting we might offer coffee to a guest by saying *May I offer you some coffee?* or, perhaps, *Would you care for some coffee?* In an informal setting we might say, *Want some coffee?* or even *Coffee?* This shift in styles is completely unconscious and automatic; indeed it takes some concentration and hard introspection for us to realize that we each use a formal and an informal style on different occasion.

The issue dealt with below is the underlying competence an ESL learner must have in order to understand and, ultimately, to communicate in the same informal style of the native speaker. Sets of dialogues are considered to determine (1) the conditions under which such abbreviated conversations take place, (2) the pattern of underlying omitted structures, and (3) a rationale, for teaching such structure and such style.

Puzzlement for the ESL learner is a key to the development of appropriate communicative competence. Complete sentences uttered by native speakers in informal situations with all information, however redundant, are not observed and therefore often present difficulty for the ESL learner. Many speakers, in fact, in an effort to obtain necessary information in a

conversation, resort to apocopated or abbreviated speech forms which assume an underlying competence. A typical set of dialogues might look like the following:

- L. A. Peter: Eat yet?
 James: No. You?
 Peter: You hungry?
 James: Little bit.
 Peter: Wanna sandwich?
 James: Sure, thanks.
- L. B. Paul: Whatsa matter?
 Upset stomach?
 Judy: Not really.
 Just tired.
 Kids asleep?
 Paul: Not yet.
 Coffee ready?
 Judy: Inna minute.
 Tired, honey?
 Paul: A little.

In both cases, the speakers have omitted what the learner has come to expect as vital grammatical information. Both parties, however, are communicating without recourse to standard grammar and sentence structure. In fact, the speakers may even be using a different intonational pattern. Vital extralinguistic cues are no doubt available to both speakers. Related to this point, Hymes, Cooper, Widdowson and Munby describe the factor of contextual appropriacy, namely, that "there are rules of use without which the rules of grammar would be useless." (Munby, 1978: 23) Munby, furthermore, states

Therefore we should teach the rules of use and language features appropriate to the relevant social context. It follows that in specifying communicative competence which . . . subsumes both grammatical and contextual competence, dealing with one component alone will usually not be valid. (Munby, 1978: 23)

The underlying omitted structures in the dialogue above seem to be fairly consistent in that they are patterns required of Yes/No questions. They might be judged informal, but fairly common and "...one of the more interesting features of that style" (Akmajian, *et al*, 1979: 188). As the ESL learner confronts situations of this type as an observer and likely participant, he tends to search his inventory of patterns learned in class and finds that no such question patterns have been drilled. The responses, though, have been.

Expectation in the ESL learner is high and usually centrally focused for comprehension on availability of information provided by syntactic pattern. The above dialogues reveal omissions or abbreviation of the follow-

ing information:

Did you ...
 Did ...
 Are you ...
 Do you ...
 Do you have ...
 I'm ...
 Are you ...
 Is the ...
 Are you ...

The situational context in which dialogues of the type described in this paper may be found varies in content but not in characteristic. Constant speaker-hearer exchanges, or dyadic interaction, that require an affirmation or denial of information appear to represent the majority of situations. There may be situations of a formal nature, shall we say, between clerk and customer, doctor and patient, and interviewer and interviewee. The goal of these situations appears to be information gathering for delivery of service. Others, no doubt, could be found. Contextually, the situations are usually informal, between speakers whose degree of social interaction is intimate and of an informal nature. In addition to the deletion of auxiliary verbal elements whose function is to provide temporal information, there are also deletions of at least three subject types, namely, *I*, *you*, and *it*. An examination of the data reveals a further classification of deletions.

In the short dialogues below, there appears to be a growing inventory of omissions, some of which are predictable, others of which are not. In any case, unless the ESL learner is prepared for the interaction, (that is, conditioned to the omission, aware of the missing items, able to comprehend the intended meaning of the speaker) he will certainly encounter some difficulty in the communicative situation.

II. A. Peter:	Whatsa matter?	
	Upset stomach?	Do you have ...
Judy:	Not really.	
	Just tired.	I'm ...
	Kids asleep?	Are the ...
Peter:	Not yet.	
	Coffee ready?	Is the ...
Judy:	Inna minute.	
	Tired, honey?	Are you ...
Peter:	A little.	

In Dialogue IIA, aside from syllabic reduction as in *whatsa matter?* or even *s' matter?* the questions are reduced to two words. Responses may also be reduced to two. The remaining information is sufficient to convey the speaker's meaning. There also seems to be little, if any, room for ambiguity.

in most classroom contexts, only the first "Does he (she) have . . ." is of high practiced frequency.

A proximate step in the research reported here is the need to test ESL students, along with a control group of native speakers, to determine what missing grammatical information is suggested by the context. This could be accomplished by multiple choice items, though these would be akin to leading the witness. On the other hand, a test could consist of simple completion of the missing information which, under ideal conditions, would yield more creative data not only with regard to the student's own developed competence but also with regard to his speculative ability. In each context, however, the examinee would need to study the situation to arrive at a "feel" for the missing information.

A categorization of underlying omitted structures in the above sets of dialogues indeed clearly indicates a proliferation of YES/NO grammatical patterns with a wide range of temporal possibilities. The number of possibilities leads one to consider the broad competence that would have had to develop in the ESL learner in order to deal with the communicative context. The fact that the present, past and conditional tenses appear with great regularity suggests the need to explore the presentation and sequencing of these tenses in current ESL materials. The omission classifications consist of the following items (the complete list with potential contexts is found in Appendix A of this paper):

1. Do you . . .
2. Do you have . . .
Do you have (a/an) . . .
3. Do you want . . .
4. Are you . . .
5. Is it . . .
Is the . . .
6. Did you . . .
7. Are your . . .
Are the . . .
8. Did you get . . .
9. Is . . .
10. Did . . .
11. You . . .
12. Would you . . .
13. Would you like a . . .
14. Is she a . . .

A quick glance, in Appendix A, at the context in which the omitted items appear exhibits, in some instances, a range also of possible linkages. If one takes, for example, the item "Are you . . .", it is following by an array of grammatical elements such as: progressive *-ing*, prepositions, past participles, adjectives and non-prepositional locatives. In terms of the classroom and textbook context for the teaching of the appropriate grammatical

item, the focus is usually on the grammatical item and not the frequency or combinatory potential of omitted information. Likewise, in an ESL context where knowledge of English is equated with survival or coping, such as in a social context, a transactional context, an information context, even in the informal context of a classroom, the student is often required to listen intently, question often or withdraw from the conversation. The level of expectation for each of the just cited contexts is undoubtedly high. Intent listening can indeed produce comprehension but not without cost. The ESL learner approaches the conversation with hesitation because of its rapidity. The learner listens intently, tries to interpret from grammatical clues, finds none or few and either gives up or resorts to questioning techniques. The questioning techniques require the speaker to paraphrase and, in the paraphrase, the appropriate cues are given and comprehension is achieved.

A final issue to be resolved on this matter of two-word/two-way communication and unconscious omission relates to the need for a rationale for teaching such structures and such style. In any communicative context, comprehension can only be achieved if the participants share certain information, be it grammatical, experiential or extralinguistic. In the case of the type of communication discussed in this paper, the grammatical competence is essential. Its mastery is required before its omission can be interpreted. Mastery and interpretation require practice; yet the recognition of the omission is not possible unless the omission too has been drilled and practiced. The textbook, justifiably, cannot be faulted for not teaching omission. It is, after all, the intent of most standard textbook writers of ESL materials to include the standard patterns of formal spoken and written varieties of English. However, once the student leaves the textbook and the classroom and attempts to cope with "real" language, that is, the informal variety of spoken English, the textbook fails. But the teacher of ESL need not fail.

Interaction in the classroom is not always formal. Often, in order to achieve understanding, the instructor resorts to a more personal and less formal style or register to achieve the dyadic exchange. It is this type of exchange that "greases the skid" toward the recognition and interpretation of what can be omitted. Moreover, the ESL instructor and the materials preparers need to be aware of the combinatory potential of the grammatical elements they are teaching. The patterns are broad and suggestive of variety.

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APPENDIX A

- I. A. Peter: Eat yet?
 James: No. You?
 Peter: You hungry?
 James: Little bit.
 Peter: Wanna sandwich?
 James: Sure, thanks.
- B. Paul: Whatsa matter?
 Upset stomach?
 Judy: Not really.
 Just tired.
 Kids asleep?
 Paul: Not yet.
 Coffee ready?
 Judy: Inna minute.
 Tired, honey?
 Paul: A little.
- II. A. Peter: Whatsa matter?
 Upset stomach? Do you have ...
 Judy: Not really. I'm ...
 Just tired. Are the ...
 Kids asleep? Is the ...
 Peter: Not yet. Are you ...
 Coffee ready?
 Judy: Inna minute.
 Tired, honey?
 Peter: A little.
- II. B. James: Been skiing? Have you ...
 Jack: Not lately. You? Have ...
 James: Last week. In Aspen. (response to unasked question)
 Jack: Lotta snow? Was there a ...
 James: Some
 Jack: Meet any chicks? Did you ...
 James: Couple, Lotta guys. ... I met ...
 Jack: Get high? Did you ...
 James: Little mellow. Good grass. I got ... I (had) or On ...
 Jack: Colombian gold? Was it ...
 James: Don't know. Couldn't tell. I ... I ...
- II. C. Detective: Any priors? Does he (she) have ...
 Are there ...
 Were there ...
 Have there been ...
 Clerk: Two misdemeanors.
 Detective: Convicted? Was he (she) ...
 or Has he (she) been ...
 Convictions? Does he (she) have any ...
 Clerk: Cases dismissed. Both ... were ...
 Detective: Juvenile? Is he (she) ...
 Was he (she) ...
- III. A. Do you ... need money?
 a ride?
 more time?
 it now?

- B. Do you have ...
- III C. Do you want ...
- D. Are you ...
- E. Is it ...
- F. Is the ...
- G. Did you ...
- H. Are your (the)
- I. Did you get ...
- J. Is ...
- K. Did ...
- L. You ...
- M. Do you have (a/an) ...
- N. Would you ...
- O. Would you like ...
- P. Is she a ...

feel pain?
distress?
discomfort?
tired?
want a drink?
know her?
any more ice?
an upset stomach?
any more butter?
ice?
a twist of lemon?
any more butter?
ice?
going out?
in a hurry?
all packed?
tired?
asleep yet?
awake yet?
in yet?
still sick?
sleeping late?
cold out?
my turn?
finished yet?
your turn?
in yet?
news on?
TV broken?
all over?
coffee ready?
water boiling?
work late?
work hard?
shake it?
buy it yet?
feel pain?
know her?
clothes dirty?
pants tight?
up early?
dinner ready?
class begin?
gotta a date?
upset stomach?
headache?
indigestion?
sore arm?
like some eggs?
like to?
like a drink?
drink?
gin and tonic?
scotch and water?
twista lemon?
nice chick?

Teaching in Non-Instructional Settings¹

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Recent research in sociolinguistics and language learning, particularly studies on good language learners, formal and informal language learning, and classroom interaction patterns, has led the authors to question whether language acquisition might not better be facilitated in non-classroom settings where there is a need to communicate with native speakers other than the teacher.

The authors propose an approach to teaching ESL which broadens the notion of the classroom to include non-instructional learning environments. The non-instructional setting is not solely for the purpose of cultural enrichment nor for variety in the curriculum; it is an integral part of the program, introduced as a need for such a learning situation arises organically from the particular group of students.

Learning tasks and activities involving the surrounding English-speaking community will be described. The activities are designed to encourage learner initiative and the development of learning and communication strategies. They provide the students with real-life experiences where they are more apt to have genuine communicative needs and thereby acquire the language and cultural awareness to meet those needs.

Introduction

As teachers of English as a second language in an academic setting, we have often had students who, experiencing frustration because they have reached a plateau in their language learning, comment that they feel they would be better off getting out of the language classroom and into courses in their major field, where language is only the medium of instruction and not the subject of instruction. What they may be saying in a purely intuitive way is that they believe real, authentic language learning occurs outside the language classroom. We teachers may also sense this, based on our own experiences learning a second language (Blackburn, 1971). We may observe that some of our students, particularly those who arrive in the United States

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with a high level of competency in English, can successfully learn in just this way.

Studies by Rubin (1975) and Stern (1975) have given insights into the characteristics of "good language learners". They are the learners who take advantage of every opportunity to use and build on previously acquired knowledge, and readily take risks without being afraid of appearing foolish. Most students, however, are not natural risk-takers and therefore do not fit this definition. Such students need help in developing the type of strategies used by the "good language learner" to maximize learning.

In addition, the fact that the good language learner seeks various situations in which to learn and to practice language skills corresponds to ideas from general learning theory. It is said that learning is more apt to occur where there is high saliency; that is, the more meaningful the content and the situation are to the learner, the greater the cognitive integration of the material. It seems, therefore, that "natural" language situations would lead to greater learning. The "natural" use of language occurs when students' personal interests, real preoccupations or problems are being expressed (Rivers, 1976).

If it is agreed that language learning is more effective in a natural setting, what, then, is the role of the classroom and of the classroom teacher? We will argue that the commonly accepted role of the teacher and of the classroom must be changed. The role of the teacher is to organize tasks to facilitate the language learning process; therefore, the learning experience should be structured so that it can be understood in terms of the students' definition of language goals. This requires that the teacher be sensitive to the students' needs and interests.

We will suggest that one way ESL teachers can address student needs and goals is by developing programs that combine classroom learning environments with non-instructional learning environments; that is, the language "classroom" should be broadened to include, potentially, the entire surrounding English-speaking community. As a need or interest emerges naturally within the "traditional classroom" interactions, learning tasks can be developed to take the students "out into the streets," into the "extended classroom" of the target community. The tasks should grow out of concern for the linguistic as well as the sociolinguistic, paralinguistic and cultural factors of the language. In the community, the students are more apt to experience genuine communicative needs and thereby acquire the language necessary to meet those needs. There is less of the "pseudocommunication" common even to the notional/functional materials used in the traditional classroom (Rivers and Temperley, 1978).

The non-instructional learning approach represents a new attitude towards the teaching of ESL, an attitude which is holistic in outlook. The role of the teacher, as well as the relationship between teacher and student, student and student, student and community changes in such a way as to en-

courage development of strategies for learning and communicating in the target language community, once the teacher is no longer present. One function of the traditional, enclosed classroom, then, is to provide the forum for evaluation and discussion of the student's self-awareness in the target culture.

We will first present theoretical support for the argument that a new relationship be developed between the classroom and the target language community. We will then describe several tasks to implement this approach.

Theoretical Assumptions

Recent socio- and psycholinguistic research supports the theory that most people learn a second language to attain communicative competence. According to Hymes (1974), this includes not only linguistic competence but also implicit knowledge of how and when to use situationally appropriate forms. The current trend in second language teaching towards functional/notional syllabuses and materials grew out of the idea of communicative competence. The resulting reorganization of courses and materials from structural to functional/notational syllabuses and the increasing use of communicative activities has made the classroom a more effective learning environment. There is reason to question, however, whether the classroom is the most satisfactory environment to facilitate the acquisition of communicative competence. If the instruction is in an ESL situation, with the target community all around, it is worth considering the use of this community as an extension of the classroom.

Professor McPherson of New York University argues that "we must change the function of the classroom from the place where the language is learned in order to be applied outside, to the place where students are taught how to learn outside the classroom" (quoted in Coit and Kaltinick, 1979). Our approach draws from this idea and views the classroom as the place to facilitate the use of "language for exploration" (Barnes, 1976). One of our assumptions is that the traditional classroom is not the only place for language learning and that there are ways of learning that cannot be exploited within the confines of the classroom.

This view of learning is supported by Dewey (1938), who emphasized the link between education and experience, and by Illich (1970), who sees formal education solely as a means of helping the students acquire a skill and become self-initiating learners. In the case of language learning, the classroom could be used to explicitly teach strategies (Tarone 1980) for use outside the classroom with native speakers (Taylor and Wolfson, 1978).

A second area to explore in relation to the classroom concerns the types of roles, and the kinds of language appropriate to those roles that students use in a classroom. It is axiomatic to say that students learn the target language by using it to do things, in other words, by performing activities which

are "goal-oriented/functional language practice" (Taylor and Wolfson, 1978). Researchers interested in classroom interaction patterns (Long et al., 1976, Barnes, 1976, and Fanselow, 1978) point out that there are particular student-teacher and student-student interaction patterns in the classroom which preclude the natural use of language. This raises the question of whether the classroom can be conducive to authentic communication. If the teacher is always in control and never "gets out of the way" (Stevick, 1976), that is, if s/he sets the tasks but then doesn't allow the students to take over, the quantity of discourse and the kinds of roles open to the students are limited.

It seems that a non-classroom learning environment would produce some changes in the interaction patterns; these patterns would be different from those of the "lock-step" classroom approach described by Long et al. (1976). For example, there might be fewer teacher solicits and student responses and more student solicits and explanations. Interaction patterns that more closely approach those of native speakers outside the classroom might encourage the acquisition of communicative competence better than those which occur in the conventional classroom. The students could relate to other students and native speakers in the community by becoming the givers and solicitors of information; the teacher would become the resource person.

Yet another consideration of the possible limitations of the classroom can be drawn from studies done on informal and formal language learning. Krashen (1976) developed the Monitor model for second language acquisition based on his observations of formal (classroom) and informal learning environments. He distinguishes two separate systems by which the adult language learner internalizes the rules of the target language: through implicit, subconscious acquisition and through explicit, conscious learning. Acquisition occurs in "meaningful interactions" where the purpose is the communication of meaning. The feedback from other participants in the speech act is related to understanding and meaning; it is not concerned with the correctness of the language per se. Conscious learning produces the Monitor which functions to alter the output of the acquired system. This happens only when the speaker-hearer has the time and the interest to focus on the form of the utterance rather than on communication.

Lamendella's work with aphasics (1979) offers neurofunctional evidence to support Krashen's work. The classroom may be appropriate to facilitate the development of a Monitor to aid the learner in the manipulation of the structures of the target language; however, where the goal is to acquire the ability to communicate with native speakers in natural, everyday situations, the types of tasks set in the classroom are unproductive.

D'Anglejan's work (1978) dovetails with that of Krashen. She attempts to characterize the nature of formal and informal learning and emphasizes that learning in an informal setting is based on meaning embedded in the

social interaction. Furthermore, she states that empathy and identification with the participants are more important than the subject matter and that feedback is concerned with the appropriateness of the speaker-hearer's attempts to communicate. She underscores the importance of social interactions with native speakers by stating that successful language learning is the result of functioning in the target language, that is, learning to speak by speaking.

Based on D'Angejan's observations regarding the role of empathy and the formation of interpersonal bonds between the learner and the native speaker, the psychodynamics of the learning situation become important. One common criticism of classroom tasks and activities is that students are seemingly unable to transfer what they can do in the classroom to non-classroom situations. One possible reason for this lack of transfer may be that the students experience too much culture shock. According to Schumann (1978), the tension existing between their own culture and language and that of the target community may result in anxiety that could cause the learners to shy away from risk-involving social interaction with native speakers. It seems reasonable to assume that such anxiety and tension would affect the development and application of the communicative competence of the learner.

This culture and language shock and the whole problem of transfer of learning from the classroom setting to the community can be addressed by structuring the situation so that the learner is provided with opportunities to gain experience in the community. Through increasingly lengthy and more complex tasks outside the classroom, the learner can develop understanding of and empathy for the target culture. He can, additionally, gain self-confidence and self-esteem while expressing himself in the target language. The classroom teacher and fellow students can provide supportive feedback to help the learner understand possible difficulties and learn strategies to overcome them.

In addition, when the community is made part of the language learning environment, the learner can observe in situational contexts such as paralinguistic elements as body language, gestures, tone of voice and use of distance. They are integral parts of any act of communication and are most appropriately acquired through experience rather than explicit teaching, if indeed they can be taught at all. Social cues are probably best learned through experience.

Therefore, a supportive classroom atmosphere and explicitly taught learning and communication strategies can encourage risk-taking behavior and stimulate learner initiative. The student will also realize that he can not only survive but actually be a successful participant in social interactions with native speakers. An inherent experiential value of success in the non-instructional setting is that it leads to growth and that each successive experience leads to more growth (Wissot, 1976). Equally important is the ac-

tual language that can be learned in such a setting. The learner can use what s/he already knows and add to this acquired system. The learner is more likely to expand higher vocabulary and syntax to fulfil the tasks performed in a non-instructional setting than in the classroom alone.

There appears to be ample theoretical evidence to support our approach. Recent work underlines the importance of the sociolinguistic variables in language learning; the notion of communicative competence attempts to group and clarify the interdependence of these variables with linguistic forms. Of critical importance to the language teacher is the translation of these ideas into actual practice. Therefore, the remainder of this paper will be devoted to a description of several non-instructional learning tasks and settings. The examples focus on the function of information-seeking; however, other functions, such as suasion, socializing, discovering moral or intellectual attitudes (Van Ek, 1976) could certainly be used in creating non-instructional learning tasks.

Individuals and Pairs in the Target Community

Imagine a classroom in which students are being taught to ask directions. The lesson might include various activities, such as writing dialogues, role-playing, or studying maps, in an attempt to re-create real life situations in the classroom. These exercises would indeed address a language function and present certain language skills; but would there be predominantly student initiated exchanges for real communicative purposes, that is, would the activities have increased communicative competence? According to our approach, carefully planned tasks, involving students individually or in pairs in the target language community would provide further, if not better, opportunities for the acquisition of communicative competence.

In preparation for the non-instructional learning task, we would suggest an additional problem solving exercise, designed to analyze sociolinguistic behavior. This analysis would include whom to ask for information, how to address that person, how to interrupt or attract the attention of a stranger, when to use the various registers of language (formal, informal, polite). This is intended to ascertain and increase the student's knowledge of the social conventions used in this type of interaction.

The students would then be presented with the non-instructional learning situation. They would be instructed to go to a specific place which they do not know; the place would be selected for its potential importance to them. For example, near Columbia University there is a small grocery store, known to most students for its inexpensive sandwiches and hot plates to take out. It is called TA.KOME, pronounced "take home" by most Americans, "TA.KO.ME." by the uninitiated foreign student. The mispronunciation is intentionally not corrected so that the student may be forced to make him/herself understood in a possibly conflictive situation.

The instructions are to ask someone for directions to "TAKOME", go there and look around. The students are given the option of completing the exercise individually or in pairs, as the risk involved in talking to a native speaker and finding an unfamiliar location may seem too great for some students to perform the task alone. The final instruction is to write a short account of the experience, including answers to questions prepared by the instructor regarding the student's activities, impressions and, most importantly, difficulties in understanding or being understood. The written account can be used as a journal of experiences and successes in the target community.

The students, through this exercise, can verify their own comprehension and communicability without the presence of the teacher. In the classroom, they report orally and in writing on this assignment. Linguistic and sociolinguistic difficulties are discussed and a lesson is prepared to help overcome these problems.

On the whole, students have reacted favorably to this type of exercise. Some were able to isolate skills they felt needed work, such as pronunciation. Cross-cultural issues often arose in the classroom discussion. One student, for example, noticing the sign at the entrance to the store which read, "TAKOME, Home of the Hero", wanted to know the name of the hero to which the sign referred. This prompted a discussion of the hero sandwich, the fast food industry and foods from around the world. Moreover, it created a natural context in which to review comparisons. Both the cultural and linguistic focus of the lesson resulted directly from student initiated questions.

This type of exercise could be conducted in any surrounding, using an unusual store or restaurant, Student Health Service, or Community Hospital, for example. The area around school is suggested for an initial outing for several reasons. First, the student community is usually more willing to take time to help foreign students, reducing the potential fear involved in completing the assignment. In addition, a place close to home eliminates the possible anxiety associated with using public transportation. It is also a way to encourage the students to become acquainted with the neighborhood.

Another lesson could involve not only asking for directions, but giving and receiving information as well. One such project grew out of several classes devoted to the theme of mass transportation and urban renewal. Linguistically, this topic offered a context in which to study "giving suggestions and advice" and the mass/count distinction related to vocabulary in the text and discussions.

From the discussions it became apparent that many students had not, in fact, learned how to use the public transportation system and therefore had seen very little of the city. From this interest manifested by the students, preparations began for a non-instructional classroom learning task.

The students were told to obtain subway and bus maps from the attendant at a subway station (practicing making requests). A large map of New York was brought into class and the students who had already discovered the city shared information about places of interest and ways of getting around with the less adventurous or newly arrived students. Conversations inevitably included suggestions and advice relating to the dangers of a large metropolitan center. The instructor acted only as a resource person for language and information about the city.

Next, an article, taken from a city magazine, containing a brief description of nine of New York's most unusual pieces of property was distributed to the class. It included such little known places as the smallest piece of real estate in New York, a mosaic triangle 24" by 26" upon which hundreds of people trespass daily. Each description gave a short history of the property, plus the nearest cross streets.

The assignment was to visit at least one of these places, alone or with a friend. Students were instructed to ask directions and plan their trip by public transportation. They were given questions to guide them in writing a short, descriptive report of their experience, including the difficulties, linguistic or otherwise, they encountered in completing the assignment. Moreover, they were told to ask native speakers for additional information about these places, or to share the information they had obtained. They were to include the reaction of native speakers in their written account. An error analysis of these reports was made and in subsequent lessons attention was focused on the linguistic forms and non-linguistic difficulties indicated in the writing.

With a more advanced class, a values clarification exercise (Rosensweig, 1974) was used, ostensibly, to teach the language of argumentation, interruption and opinion giving. Students were divided into small groups. The groups were to rank 15 occupations in terms of the prestige they felt an American would attribute to each. Group rankings were compared and then matched with a 1963 survey of Americans. The students were surprised at the results and questioned whether a 1980 survey would produce a different order. From their question, a community based task was set. They were asked to interview Americans about their opinions.

Class preparation included practicing interview techniques, analyzing inappropriate questions and social behavior, and role playing conflict situations related to distance-keeping. In addition, discussion centered on the general willingness of Americans to answer such surveys. These exercises were intended to sensitize the students to the accepted social norms of the speech community.

The students were surprisingly inventive—"surprisingly", because the risks involved in this exercise were great; however, the interest in obtaining the information was equally high. Some students interviewed shoppers in supermarkets, people in restaurants and on busses (including the bus driver).

Others chose to interview friends or students on campus, a safer community of informants. But all the students returned with results and stories they wanted to share with the class and the instructor.

Again, the role of the teacher was to define the needs or interests of the class, establish the procedure and then offer feedback; the students initiated the questions, selection of contacts and style of interaction.

Field Trips—The Class in the Target Community

Not all language learners are confident enough to take the risks, nor capable of using the language involved in the activities which have been described so far. Therefore, another way of integrating the student into the target culture and helping to develop independent learning strategies is to go on class field trips. Although field trips have often been a part of ESL classes, they have mostly been supplemental to or an enrichment of the learning activity. It is suggested here that field trips become an integral part of the learning process and a direct extension of the classroom.

Students in one class were asked to list subjects which interested them. Field trips were then organized around these interest areas. Preparation for a trip to the Museum of Modern Art, for example, began with a reading on Modern Art and a review of the current exhibit. Next, some of the students were assigned procedural tasks. They were given the number of the museum and instructed to call for specific information: museum hours, cost of admission, possibility of group arrangements or guided tours, etc. Often this information is recorded; students can thus listen several times to the message. Other students were in charge of planning the best means and time to make the trip. Students who were particularly interested in art were given a research task. Questions prepared by the teacher were distributed to these students as a guide to the information they might seek (practice using the library had already been part of a previous lesson). The findings of these students were to be shared with the class during the visit. These exercises were intended to have the students gather information essential for the planning and execution of a trip they had suggested.

In order to take advantage of the travelling time involved in getting to the museum, the students were asked to gather, in writing, samples of language from particular advertisements in the subway or bus. For example, one student who wanted to study electronics at a technical school was asked to copy information relating to electronics and technical schools. These samples were used in later classes for vocabulary, analysis of cultural messages and grammatical structures. Grammar rules are often broken in publicity, therefore, students were encouraged to look for this and check their intuition about acceptable and appropriate usage.

During the actual visit, students who had knowledge about the exhibit shared this information with the other students. The teacher interacted

with the students, providing feedback and answering questions. Additionally, students were asked to jot down information from labels included in the exhibit and to add their own comments and impressions. They were also to transcribe bits of conversation they heard around them.

The subsequent classroom activities centered around discussion of the trip. The transcriptions and exhibition labels were studied for language and cultural content. The students shared their impressions and compared the museum to others they had seen. This was done first orally and then in writing. The way in which people had walked through the museum and looked at the artwork prompted a lesson on body language across cultures.

Other field trips might be designed to move the students from a class field trip to the more risk-involving individual tasks. A class trip to a small claims or traffic court, for example, might be followed by an individual task of interviewing a police officer (most cities have a public relations office of the police department willing to meet foreign students), or interviewing Americans about their opinions of the police. The questions to be asked could be compiled by the class, with the teacher controlling for linguistic accuracy. The information gathered by the individual students would then be shared with the class.

A lesson on the American family could lead to a field trip to speak with representatives of a feminist organization, a Family Planning Center, or a retirement home. One or two students could consequently talk with an American family and report their findings to the class.

Feedback

Throughout this paper, frequent reference has been made to feedback. What does it mean? If the classroom is a place intended to develop verbal fluency, the teacher's feedback should not focus only on linguistic form, but also on communicative appropriateness. This means that grammatical accuracy should not be the only goal.

This attitude toward error correction is supported by Taylor (1976) who points out that Americans speaking to foreigners expect foreignness; and often it is just this type of speech and behavior which gets things done. How important, then, is it to demand perfect accuracy? Would it be more realistic to show students that native speakers make allowances for non-nativeness? One of the teacher's functions should be to help students learn strategies to exploit their "interlanguage" and make communication possible.

It is not suggested that the teacher avoid correction; all the more as students want and expect it (Cathcart and Olsen, 1976). We are only suggesting that it be limited to specifically selected items and take second place to the overall purpose of communication. The feedback from the community—in answers, rejoinders, comments, redundancies, misunderstandings,

foreigner talk—might be as important as any linguistic corrections the teacher could make. If the student gets the task done, s/he knows s/he has somehow communicated. It is believed that in this way the learner will become more sensitive to his/her language needs as s/he enters the community and struggles for self-expression. By giving exposure to the language community through talks which are functional and significant to the learner, opportunities are created for the student to test hypotheses about the language and culture in spontaneous interactions with native speakers. A trained resource person, the teacher, is available to comment on and correct the learner's performance, if needed. The emphasis is away from the concept of the teacher as "all-knower" to an acceptance of teacher-student equality.

Conclusion

The tasks described in this paper were designed for intermediate to advanced students. However, the non-instructional learning setting need not be limited to these levels. The type of tasks, the number of individual or paired activities as compared to field trips and the degree of control of linguistic elements depends on the abilities, interests and risk-taking exhibited by each class. Consequently, the non-instructional learning situation could be adapted for any ESL curriculum, either as the basis for an entire class, a complement to each lesson, or a supplementary activity as the need arises. We strongly feel, however, that it should be included in some form in every ESL program; all the more as an analysis of the non-instructional learning environment might provide added insights into ways to improve the formal learning environment of the traditional classroom.

In the non-instructional setting, language exposure is not limited to the speech or behavior of a few friends or teachers. It is exposure to the authentic, unpredictable language of the total target community. Through this approach, learning strategies and communicative competence may be enhanced. The classroom is extended into the target language community where the language teaching, in Stevick's terms (1978), is not only for communication but also through communication.

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Outlining Problem Areas in Ongoing ESP Programs

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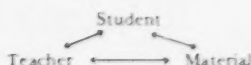
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Most current work in ESP course planning and design centers on the parameters of creating new materials or adapting existing materials for use with a specific student or group of students. Curriculum and materials writers often approach this task with a knowledge of the students' "specific purposes" gained primarily from information provided by the students' sponsors or employing companies. However, numerous difficulties may arise during the implementation of the curriculum, because the information provided by the sponsor may have been misleading, incomplete, or inaccurate.

This paper outlines some of the problems which may occur during the course of an ESP program, particularly in an English-speaking country, and delineates the parameters of the divergence between the advance information used in curriculum design, and the actual situation which develops through contact with the students. Although it is not claimed that prior knowledge of these parameters can always eliminate problem areas, it can help those involved in teaching and administering ESP programs to understand and deal with difficulties in a systematic way.

English language teaching has focused much attention on what we might call the "classical" triangle: teacher-student-material (see figure 1).

FIGURE 1
The Classical Model



With the advent of English for Special Purposes, the focus of attention on the triangle has seemingly not changed. However, with the growing number of ESP programs in the U.S. today, a new element has been added to the teacher-student-material equation which has, quite literally, changed the shape of things (see figure 2).

FIGURE 2
A New Model



This new element can best be described as "the sponsor," although this may be taken to mean anyone, from an employing company to a prospective trainer of the students once they leave the language program, to a U.S. government agency acting on behalf of a foreign government agency.

We are speaking primarily about situations in which a language program has contracted with a sponsor to take responsibility for the language training of students who have a certain specified common need for learning English, the training to take place in an English-speaking country. Of course, we in the language program need to understand and take into account the needs of the contracting company or agency as well as the needs of the students or employees. Because the sponsor is usually the one who pays the bills (but not only for this reason) all of those concerned with implementing an ESP program realize that the sponsor's demands and suggestions must be considered and met whenever possible.

But adding this fourth element, the sponsor, has directly or indirectly created many new problems for language program administrators and teachers. This paper will attempt to define some of those problems which may arise during the course of an ESP program of the type mentioned above, to identify the polarities which bring about the problems, and to offer some suggestions on how to anticipate and minimize difficulties.

Specifically, the five major areas we will examine are delimited by the following polarities:

- (1) sponsor expectations and needs vs. student expectation and needs;
- (2) student needs vs. student wants;
- (3) sponsor perceptions of student needs vs. educator perceptions of student needs;
- (4) sponsor promises vs. sponsor deliveries;
- (5) student perception of his behavior vs. teacher perception of student behavior.

The first area to be examined is that of student needs and expectations as opposed to sponsor needs and expectations. Obviously, a sponsor sends students to a language program because it needs the students to reach a certain level of English proficiency for some purpose, usually in a certain specified time, and it expects the language program to succeed in preparing the students adequately. The sponsor also expects the students to uphold their end of the bargain in reaching whatever goals have been established. A

conflict arises when the students' expectations or needs do not correspond to those of the sponsor. There seems to be a variety of reasons for this. First, and most important, is when the students (in whole or in part) do not intend to try very hard to uphold their end of the deal. Especially in the case of veteran employees, the language program may be seen as a chance "to get away from it all" for a few months, a chance to visit the U.S. at the company's expense, or a ticket to a promotion to be purchased by merely attending the program, without really seriously working or studying. In this case, it is to the sponsor's advantage to have the students complete the program as quickly as possible, while the students, not sharing their sponsor's sense of urgency, find it in their own best interests to take as much time as possible to reach whatever language criteria were established and thus finish the course. A secondary problem here occurs when the sponsor, in an overzealous attempt to recruit students for the program, embellishes it hoping that the students will resign themselves to their "plight" once they begin their training. The students are then suddenly faced with the grim reality: the luxurious facilities that were promised have been replaced by a rather pedestrian physical plant, the promised "super teachers" have been replaced by ordinary people who are reminiscent of all other teachers, and the leisurely accumulation of the English language is really a hard-fought struggle with vocabulary and grammar.

The obvious solution to this problem would be that sponsors be honest with their prospective language students about the program they will be entering, and that the prospective students be screened so that only people who are truly serious about achieving the goals of the program are allowed to participate. This is a must. Given the lack of control that language programs have over this area, the best we can do is recognize a potential for difficulty, and hope for a sincere effort on the part of the people with whom we have contracted. We should also institute strict "quality control" measures throughout the language program, continually evaluating all facets of it, which should help expose students who are not making adequate progress, for whatever reasons. Students who are not interested in achieving can then be eliminated from the program.

The second major problem area that we find is related to the first, but brought about by a different set of polarities: student wants vs. student needs. This dichotomy usually occurs for one of two reasons. The first is that the student perceives the need for the training in terms of his job and his future, but he also wants, especially in the context of an English-speaking country, to participate in the social life of the host country, and this fosters his desire to learn certain social formulae and vocabulary items that are not part of the ESP curriculum. This want, if catered to by the instructor, can cause large amounts of class time to be spent ("wasted") on lessons which are not relevant to the ESP curriculum. On the other hand, we cannot deny the need for social contact in the host country, and we also

recognize the potential that social contacts have for increasing motivation and producing across-the-board language improvement. (There is a direct link here to the first area, just discussed, in that this desire for social contact on the part of the student may be the exact opposite of what the sponsor desires for its trainees).

The second reason for this dichotomy is that although the student perceives a need to study in order to succeed, he wants to enjoy the time spent away from his job as a vacation. In fact, he may have been preconditioned to think this way by a supervisor eager to get him to participate in the program to fulfill a departmental quota.

In order to minimize the effects of this type of problem, the designers of ESP programs need to build social and recreational activities into the course. In fact, some sponsors require such components and are happy to pay for them.

The third problem that can arise is a bit stickier than the other two from the point of view of the ESP program administration and its relation to the sponsor. There is a dual set of polarities (or a major set and a sub-set) which identify the cause of the problem. These are, first, the sponsor's perception of student needs as opposed to the educator's perceptions of those needs, and second, the educational institutions's perception of students' needs as opposed to the teachers' classroom perceptions. In the first instance, the polarity might result from a sponsoring agency's lack of understanding of educational principles and procedures, and thus their attempts to establish regulations or procedures for the students which are counterproductive to educational goals. Such a case might be a sponsor who insists on a certain type of curriculum when the ability level of the students is too low or too high to benefit from it, resulting in student and teacher frustration. A second example might be a company or agency which absolutely rejects the need for recreational time and activities, breeding student resentment and frustration, which manifests itself in the classroom. Finally, an extreme case might be a sponsor's failing to provide sufficient information about the students' post-language-instruction needs to enable the educators to provide an appropriate language curriculum.

In the second instance, where the administration's perceptions of student needs differ from those of the classroom teachers, there again appears to be two reasons for the dichotomy. Both deserve immediate attention because of their immediate effect on what happens in the classroom. The first reason might be that the administration's perception is unreal (for whatever reason), and the teacher is unable to convince them of this. This case may arise when the administration sides completely with a wrong-headed sponsor concerning a program, perhaps in an effort to maintain good relationships and renew contracts. In this case, lack of confidence and mistrust can develop on the part of both parties in the disagreement, destroying the effectiveness of the program. The second reason may be that the teacher

perceives "needs" that simply have no place in the ESP curriculum, and, with good intentions, begins to address these irrelevant needs, departing from the curriculum and wasting valuable class time. The solution here would seem to be to educate the teachers and administrators as to the nature of ESP programs, and the goals of their particular program, and how they can best be accomplished. Furthermore, any agreement between a sponsor and an institution should allow for flexibility to maintain the welfare of all.

The fourth major problem area might be described as institutional frustration with the sponsor. The dichotomy is sponsor promises vs. sponsor deliveries. This is typified by the situation wherein the sponsor agrees initially to recruit and enroll only a certain type of student, but then ends up delivering a different type, usually for very good reasons. (By different type we mean of a different ability level than anticipated, or different job status or description, or having different needs). This switch obviously affects everyone at the educational institution, but it usually affects the instructors the most, because they are the ones who must deal most intimately with the situation. Frustration results because the carefully conceived and developed curriculum is found to be inapplicable, and a "mad scramble" begins at the last minute to put together a patchwork curriculum that will suffice. Clearly, the students are the ones who lose most in such a situation.

The apparent obviousness of the solution is, perhaps, rivaled only by its lack of application in reality. On the one hand, we cannot realistically demand that the sponsor deliver the type of student that had been promised; we have to accept the fact that if they could, they would. On the other hand, the educational institution cannot be expected to develop a curriculum that would accommodate every conceivable kind of student the sponsor might send. First, the lead time for curriculum development in ESP programs is notoriously short, and may even be non-existent. Second, the sponsor and institution have contracted for a certain type of curriculum. To go beyond this may have legal implications. This is a puzzle that, for us, has not yet been solved.

The fifth, and final, kind of problem may manifest itself in teacher-student animosity. It occurs mainly when the students are experienced professionals studying in the ESP program to get additional training for their jobs. The polarity bringing about this problem may be described as the students' perceptions of their behavior vs. the teachers' perceptions of their behavior. In this situation, the student may see himself, and rightly so, as an employee—a worker. As such, he or she has developed certain job-related patterns of behavior that are naturally carried over into the classroom. These include patterns of punctuality (or the lack of it), break-taking, and perhaps supervising others, which do not always correspond to the normal restrictions applying to the classroom situation. This problem may be compounded by a teacher who is perhaps younger and less experienced than

the students, or who cannot change his or her attitudes about how students should behave, or who perhaps acts condescendingly toward "those workers" or tries to intimidate them through overuse of disciplinary action.

It seems to us that the brunt of the responsibility falls on the teacher in this situation. The optimal solution would be to tailor classroom schedules and procedures to the already-developed behavior patterns of the students, when this can be done without compromising the educational goals. When, for one reason or another, this cannot be done, the teacher must show a great deal of patience and sensitivity, and be prepared to abandon whatever "teacher-as-parent" roles he or she may have adopted in the past. Rigidity on the teacher's part in this situation can only lead to frustration and a hopeless classroom situation.

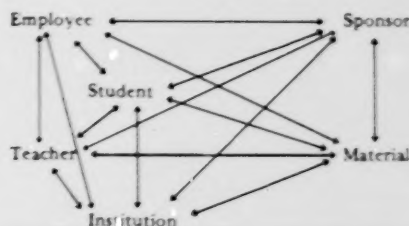
These then, are the five major polarities that describe the outlines of serious problem areas in ESP programs:

- (1) sponsor expectations and needs vs. student expectations and needs;
- (2) student needs vs. student wants;
- (3) sponsor perceptions of students needs vs. educator perceptions of student needs;
- (4) sponsor promises vs. sponsor deliveries;
- (5) student perception of his behavior vs. teacher perception of student behavior.

While they don't arise from the curriculum or materials, these problems often manifest themselves in materials or curriculum difficulties. They also are manifested in a student-teacher and teacher-administrator problems, and the cause may not always be clear to those who are most immediately involved. Awareness of the parameters discussed here should prove helpful in, if not solving the problems, at least anticipating them and lessening the severity of the consequences.

And, as a step toward realizing the complexity of the issues raised here, we would like to propose the model in figure 3 to replace the now out-moded "classical" triangle of figure 1.

FIGURE 3
The Proposed Model



Our new model incorporates the sponsor, the duality of the student as employee, and the duality of the teacher and institute. The multitude of arrows illustrates the complex nature of the interactions which have been created by the influence of the sponsor, and it serves to underscore the unique nature of ESP programs.

Communicative Disorders in the ESL Classroom

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It is generally assumed that the communication problems experienced by ESL students occur either because students have not yet developed sufficient competence in the second language or because their performance does not always reflect their competence. Most ESL instructors, however, have known students for whom neither additional instruction nor practice were sufficient to overcome a general failure to acquire proficiency in the second language. Such students are commonly said to have "no talent for language learning." Rarely is it supposed that such students may be failing in the classroom because of language disorders or learning disabilities. In fact, learners who have great difficulty acquiring even basic second language skills may suffer from one or more communicative disorders, such as dyslexia, hearing loss or central processing dysfunctions.

This paper describes the language learning behaviors of several university students who attended an intensive English program and who were diagnosed as having a communicative disorder or learning disability. General indicators that may alert the ESL instructor to the possible existence of such disorders are discussed. Remediation strategies which can be carried out in the classroom are detailed and suggestions are offered for referral of students when clinical diagnosis and treatment appear necessary.

A recurring frustration in language teaching is the case of the obviously intelligent student who nevertheless fails to make significant progress in the new language. When efforts to provide individual assistance have little or no effect, disappointment eventually turns to frustration for both teacher and student. The student is finally labeled as having "no talent for language learning." At this point either formal instruction ends or the sense of hopelessness felt on both sides creates an atmosphere not conducive to active learning. We propose that a frequently overlooked explanation for the failure to benefit from second language instruction is the presence of physiologically based communicative disorders which may seriously affect an individual's ability to develop functional skills in a new language. We further propose that L₂ learning can take place in the face of these disabilities, given proper remediation.

Lenneberg (1967) reminds us that "foundations of language are ultimately to be found in the physical nature of man—*anatomy and physiology. . .*" and we might add *neurology* as well. When first language speakers experience neurological and physiological problems in certain cerebral and peripheral areas, the result may be interference with the activating, monitoring or processing of speech (Lenneberg 1967). Although aphasia (Lamendella 1979) is the most commonly recognized disorder of this type, less severe forms may affect particular children, adolescents and adults in their ability to acquire a second language. More specifically, the failure of some students of English as a second language to acquire rudimentary syntax and phonology, to develop anything more than a subsistence level vocabulary often heavily dependent on L_1 cognates, or to manipulate written language may result from the same physiological and neurological disorders commonly seen in speech and hearing clinics.¹

We limit our discussion here to learners whose lack of progress in the language classroom is not primarily due to motivational factors. Those experiencing difficulties in their personal lives or those who have no clearly felt need for acquisition of a second language are likely to perform poorly in class (Edelsky and Hudelson 1979) although they are not necessarily physiologically affected. We are concerned rather with those well motivated, diligent people (often adults with strong professional goals and interests) appearing in our ESL classrooms who regularly make little or no progress in 1) articulating English phonemes and phoneme sequences; 2) processing aural language; 3) initiating utterances; 4) producing extended streams of speech; 5) mimicking oral models; 6) responding appropriately to corrections and/or instructions; 7) writing simple sentences; or 8) spelling. Such students might be well served by an assessment conducted by a speech/language pathologist² using appropriate diagnostic tools. Clinical evaluation may indicate that these students would make greater progress toward their acquisition of English if a prescriptive language therapy program were implemented in conjunction with modified ESL training.

The teaching approach in some classrooms may accentuate problems for the person with a speech, language or hearing impairment. These disorders may prove particularly debilitating for students in ESL classes which emphasize the development of aural/oral skills through pattern practice. The rate at which students in these classes must perform rapid processing of aural input coupled with equally rapid oral output (Lamendella 1979) can create a constant tenseness. For those with a hearing, central processing or articulation dysfunction the learning load may be simply too great. The teacher

¹ It is estimated that the incidence of speech and hearing disorders in the United States runs to ten percent in the school population and four to five percent in the adult population (Kriegman 1978).

² "Speech" here refers to the functions of the vocal organs, while "language" includes the cognitive and symbolic functions associated with involved areas in the brain.

will notice in these cases an ever widening gulf between the developing proficiencies of these students and their classmates.

Signs

In order to aid ESL practitioners in recognizing possible disorders in learners we present four case descriptions. Although they do not necessarily represent four actual persons, they typify the most frequent or outstanding symptoms that we have noted in adult ESL learners over the last several years, and which have led us to refer students for clinical testing and subsequent therapy.³ Formal diagnosis is of course the province of the professional clinician. Hasty judgements should not be made by language teachers, who must bear in mind that students' errors may be developmental or interference (Dulay and Burt 1975) rather than pathological in nature, the former two being undoubtedly more common than the latter. In any case we will not describe errors *per se*, so much as general performance behaviors which can result in constellations of fossilized errors and a general failure on the part of the student to make substantial gains in acquisition.

Case 1: Partially deaf. This student had a small working vocabulary when he began intensive ESL training and an extremely limited perceptive ability. In a pre-instructional administration of the Michigan Test of English Language Proficiency he scored 40 out of a possible 100 points. When tested on another form of the same test after six months of ESL instruction (480 hours) his score had not significantly changed. His oral performance increased only marginally over the same period, as indicated by .5 point gain on the NAFSA Speaking Proficiency Scale (NAFSA 1973). He spoke (both the first and second language) in a loud, rather high pitched voice, with limited intonation contours. An audiological evaluation at a speech and hearing clinic revealed a severe loss in the left ear and a mild loss in the right. He was subsequently fitted with a hearing aid, encouraged to sit far forward in class, and immediately next to the instructor (favoring his better ear) in small group sessions. These aids, in addition to a great personal effort, resulted in some gains in aural/oral proficiency; however, his performance still remained noticeably behind that of his classmates, both in attained proficiency and in ability to integrate newly taught material.

Case 2: Expressive disorder-sub-fluency. The most evident sign of disorder in this individual was his great difficulty in repeating even short sentences of simple construction. More sophisticated oral drill activities, such as substitution or transformation, presented insurmountable obstacles. This at first appeared to be a result of poor short-term memory coupled with over-

³ Although this discussion reflects our experience with university level ESL students, communicative disorders (and their attendant signs) likely occur with equal frequency in children and adolescent L2 learners in the public schools.

monitoring and word search. The speech producing organs functioned normally and he evidenced a good sense of grammaticality in his written work. His listening comprehension was poor and developed very slowly. Speaking, however, remained his single greatest problem throughout his ESL training and was characterized by sub-fluency (Lenneberg 1967), i.e. the inability to initiate and maintain the forward progress of an utterance. This was manifested primarily by backtracking, in which having proceeded midway into an utterance, he would back up and start over, often making less progress on the second attempt than on the first; often a third and sometimes a fourth attempt would be made, each time with decreasing length of utterance. This was later diagnosed as a central processing disorder (see Hirsch 1967). The student was encouraged to use his grammar textbook for visual support during oral grammar drill sessions in the ESL class. He was also referred to a speech/language pathologist (SLP) who provided fluency training by giving the student set pieces to memorize and recite. Later he developed his own narratives which he memorized, rehearsed and recited for the clinician. Away from the strain he felt in the classroom drill sessions, the student was slowly able to improve his speaking proficiency. By the end of one year of combined ESL/SLP training his fluency in spoken English was still far below that of his peers, although his writing was well above the average for the class in grammaticality and vocabulary usage. He made no significant gain in scores on the Michigan test over the period of instruction, but doubled his score on a standardized test of listening comprehension during the same period.

Case 3: Expressive disorder—super-fluency. The student's receptive ability was unimpaired. He could follow and participate in conversations with one or more native speakers of English. Conversational speech was frequently unintelligible, however, as a result of excessive rate, habitual interjection of L_1 words (particularly function words), articulation difficulties with initial consonants and consonant clusters, and inadequate differentiation of vowel sounds. The student was referred for therapy and over a fifteen-week period was successful in controlling his speech rate (through the use of a metronome and visual timing cues) and clarifying word-initial sounds (by means of prolongation of initial sounds). The rate control exercises were especially successful, and the student was eventually able to significantly reduce his dysfluency throughout therapy sessions without the use of external pacing devices. Interjection of L_1 words was reduced, although not eliminated altogether. This student was able to successfully complete a university degree program within the normal time allotted.

Case 4: Dyslexia in written language. This student's handwriting was the most obvious sign of disordered written language, especially in cursive style. Letters were loosely formed and disconnected, often difficult to distinguish one from another (the student was from a Roman alphabet background). Spelling was extremely poor and erratic. Syntax was also involved, as sen-

tences tended to be incomplete, omitting essential constituents. The progression of thought was often difficult to follow, although this may have been a by-product of the distorted syntax. The student's vision, both long- and short-range, seemed normal, although a slight cross-eyed condition was noticeable. His conversational English was also affected, progressing much more slowly than that of his classmates, both in comprehension and production. He appeared to have trouble concentrating and there would be long hesitations within utterances. He was referred to a clinic and received training from an SLP in handwriting and speaking skills. He was encouraged to use printing rather than cursive style, and after modeling step-by-step the process of letter formation he was able to write more legibly. To increase fluency in speech he was given specific articulation therapy on troublesome sounds. He was also given written passages to read aloud, trying to maintain a steady stream of speech. This he was able to do and there was some carry over into his extemporaneous speaking.

In all of the above cases a combined ESL/speech-language therapy program was to some degree successful in helping the students achieve higher levels of proficiency. We do not mean to suggest from this that the injection of speech therapy into second language training programs is a panacea for all slow learners (Gandour 1980). Aside from the influence of the affective variables mentioned earlier, other factors will determine the effectiveness and even the advisability of a combined program for slow learners. Two of these are discussed below.

Referral

As we have noted, diagnosis and evaluation of communicative disorders are clearly not within the purview of the classroom language instructor; referral, however, is. When contacting an SLP it is important for the teacher to emphasize that it is the student's second language which provides possible evidence of disorder. The referring teacher should inquire about the possibility of the student's being evaluated in his/her native language, since an evaluation in the L_2 will inevitably be biased by the student's limited proficiency. An L_1 evaluation will be difficult to obtain in many cases, although many assessment tools are now available in Spanish, normed to Spanish speaking populations. Tests which are not language-specific may also be appropriate, such as a pure-tone hearing screening or pitch pattern testing. Other tests of auditory perception which do not require a verbal response are available and may be used if applicable.

Teacher/therapist Contact

Especially in those cases where evaluation cannot be carried out in the student's L_1 , it is vital for the ESL instructor to maintain personal contact with the SLP. Any information the teacher has as to the student's personal

history may be helpful in diagnosis. Strokes, diseases, and injuries to the head are all included within the etiologies of speech/language disabilities (see Knegman 1978). Also valuable is a careful description of the student's classroom behavior, paralinguistic as well as linguistic. Selective inattention, high excitability or excessive nervous tension in class as well as in more relaxed social surroundings may be indicators. Most importantly, the teacher needs to convey to the pathologist what types of language activities the student can perform well, as well as those he cannot. This information is critical in designing a modality prescriptive therapy program, in which the student's strengths are employed to reinforce (or substitute for) his weaknesses.

The language teacher too will benefit from contact with the SLP, who may be able to suggest alternative strategies to improve the student's classroom performance. In aural/oral classes, for example, where central auditory functions such as short-term memory and temporal sequencing (see Hirsch 1967) are essential to active participation, the affected student may be allowed access to his/her book throughout drills and practice activities for visual reinforcement. By means of specific testing the SLP should be able to tell the language instructor whether a student with severe articulation problems is impeded by poor auditory processing (input) or motor sequencing (output). The instructor will then be in a position to decide whether special modeling techniques such as word-buildup or sound prolongation should be used in class, or whether visual cues are needed to help the student with proper tongue placement or lip closure. Once the need for therapy has been indicated and the student has had several sessions in the clinic, the SLP and the ESL instructor are in a better position to counsel the student as to the most realistic prospects for further progress in the second language.

The most beneficial impact the pathologist can have in maximizing success for ESL students is in the early detection of speech/language and hearing disorders. In our intensive program we now routinely administer a hearing evaluation to all entering ESL students, regardless of proficiency level, and we are experimenting with the use of several non-language-specific tests of central auditory processing to be included in a pre-instructional screening battery. The ultimate benefits could be in avoiding many hours of hopelessness and frustration for both student and teacher in the classroom, and in providing both with a realistic perspective from which to view the language learning problems. Perhaps most importantly, ESL instructors need simply to recognize the possibility that language disorders may exist in their students, even at the graduate university level, and that working with a speech/language pathologist in an integrated program of diagnostics, therapy and instruction is both appropriate and desirable.

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Language Learning Via Drama¹

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The Bilingual Brain, (Albert and Obler 1978) concludes with, "...it might be useful to develop a program of second language teaching that emphasizes so-called 'right hemisphere strategies.' For example a second language might be more easily learned if it were taught through nursery rhymes, music, dance, or techniques emphasizing visuospatial skills."

When using drama activities learners become interested in doing the activity (solving the problem) rather than "learning the language." This leads to a reduction in tension and a releasing of the self which in turn leads to truer communicative competence by adding the emotional aspect of language. Maley and Duff (1978) state, "They draw, too, on his imagination and memory, and on his natural capacity to bring to life parts of his past experience that might never otherwise emerge.—Each student brings a different life, a different background into the class. We would like him to be able to use this when working with his fellow students."

Using Via Drama techniques for language learning does not mean memorizing and performing a play. It is quite the opposite as it does not approve of the usual concept of memorization. It involves using "Talk and Listen" observation and relaxation exercises and many varieties of improvisation. Drama activities require true communication in the classroom between teacher and student, and between students.

If I had had the foresight I would have asked permission of Alan Maley and Alan Duff to read to you the first eighteen pages of their excellent book entitled *Drama Techniques in Language Learning*, (1978). If I had done this, there probably would have been no more practical and thought-provoking ideas presented at a convention which has as its purpose and concern the teaching and learning of languages. The reason I say this is because Maley and Duff make especially cogent arguments justifying the place and use of drama in second language programs. These arguments are important ones for the language teaching profession to be aware of, because while a number of us have been promoting the use of drama and certain drama techniques for language teaching for some time, finding acceptance of these ideas has not been all that easy.

¹I am deeply grateful to John Fieg and Ted Maister for their criticisms of an earlier version of this paper. The paper retains the informal style of an oral presentation.

There are a number of reasons for this. For example, there are those who are afraid of the word 'drama' and all that it implies in terms of memorizing, costuming, expensive sets and lighting, etc.; others, both teachers and students, have felt that drama is somewhat frivolous; still others feel that it requires special teacher talents; some worry about whether students have acting talent or not; and finally, there are those who are concerned that drama is not on the approved list of appropriate pedagogical practices as set down by our TESOL gods.

In retrospect, slow acceptance of the use of drama in present-day language teaching may be a good thing. I would hate to see teachers and educational administrators view the use of drama and drama techniques as the latest ESOL bandwagon and scramble to climb aboard only to abandon it as soon as the next bandwagon rolled in view, because I am convinced that drama is far too valuable a tool to be treated this way. Accordingly, I am arguing that the uses of drama and drama techniques are worthy of serious study so that those in the language teaching profession can come to a clear understanding of their merits. If this doesn't happen, then I am afraid that the use of drama and drama techniques may not survive the '80's except for use by a few dedicated individuals who are sold on its virtues.

Let me now comment briefly on what I see as the reasons for slow acceptance of drama in ESOL. In 1978 I conducted a Drama for Language Learning Workshop at the East-West Center. The participants in the workshop, all of whom had been using drama or drama techniques in language teaching, were from Singapore, New Zealand, Malaysia, the Philippines and the United States. We were in agreement that the word 'drama' seemed to be the major stumbling block for the acceptance of this useful and productive activity. We decided to either coin a new term or borrow one that we felt would be more palatable to administrators and policymakers in education. Our final list contained about thirty terms which almost seemed to satisfy our requirements. It included such things as expressive communication, learning by doing, communicative behavior, language interaction, etc. Yet after we studied the list with some care, we were forced to the conclusion that none of the terms really covered what we meant by drama, especially in a language teaching context. The task ahead was clear: defuse the word drama so that people in the TESOL world would not shy away from a consideration of the uses of drama in a language teaching curriculum, so that drama would come to take its rightful place in language teaching.

As for drama being frivolous, I can attest to the fact that it is not frivolous at all; and I base this on my twenty-three years in professional theater. People in the world of TESOL must come to realize that drama, once it is clearly understood, is not Mickey Mouse. It can be fun—and should be—but it is at the same time deserving of recognition as a serious and theoretically sound pedagogical construct.

As mentioned, there are those who would claim that drama requires special teacher talents, and I would agree. It requires exactly those same talents which are to be found in any good teacher—nothing more. I leave it up to you to define those traits which constitute a good teacher, but I would hope that you would include at least three things: patience, imagination, and sensitivity. The use of drama for language teaching does not require special training in the theater arts. But I would insist that it would make a great deal of sense for all teachers—no matter what discipline they are in—to have a suitable course in drama.

To address the question of those who are concerned about students lacking talent, let me start by saying that we might best define what we mean by "talented" and "untalented." Here I would quote Viola Spolin (1970, p.3)—in *Improvisations for the Theatre*—who says; . . . "what is called talented behavior is simply a greater individual capacity for experiencing." The ability to experience is something which is teachable. We can teach our students to increase their abilities to experience, and drama is one of the best vehicles for this that I know.

Is drama making any headway in its battle for acceptance by the professionals in the field of TESOL? The answer is a definite yes. It was the late Ruth Crymes, who, in 1973, invited me to teach a course in Drama and ESL in the Department of ESL at the University of Hawaii. Others such as Christina Bratt Paulston and Wilga Rivers have voiced their approval. A very strong plug for the uses of drama is contained in Earl W. Stevick's review of Maley and Duff's *Drama Techniques in Language Learning* in the April 1979 issue of *The Modern Language Journal*. Note also the last paragraph of Martin L. Albert and Lorraine K. Obler's book, *The Bilingual Brain: Neuropsychological and Neurolinguistic Aspects of Bilingualism*, where they state:

"The evidence presented in this book has implications for second language teaching. If it is true that the right hemisphere plays a major role in the acquisition of a second language, at any age, then it might be useful to develop a program of second language teaching that emphasizes so-called "right hemisphere strategies." For example, a second language might be more easily learned if it were taught through nursery rhymes, dance, or techniques emphasizing visuospatial skills." (1978, p. 254)

Drama is obviously to be included in the "visuospatial skills."

Let me now become specific as to what I mean by drama and drama techniques. And perhaps I should also speak to what I do not mean by drama. For example, L. G. Kelly (1969, p. 122) in his book *25 Centuries of Language Teaching* says, "Plays have been employed to teach skill in language only since the Middle Ages." I would wager that most of what Kelly describes involved the memorization and recitation of the plays. Perhaps some meaningless movement was added as well. I would also wager that most of those involved in such activities, teachers and students alike, were relieved when the activity was over. This is not what I mean by drama.

Plays are fine, but once you have decided to do a play, let me emphasize that it is the process of working on a play that is important—not the final production. And by process I mean the use of suitable drama techniques in working with the students. The problem of presenting a play, whether it is a twenty-minute piece or a full length production, is that it can only be done in very special situations; in addition, it does not answer the needs of most classroom teachers. Moreover, presenting a play can only be considered a very small part of what is meant by drama for language learning.

Drama technique includes such activities as mime, improvisation, observation, relaxation, and the use of the entire body. These activities, which are all intimately involved with drama, can be an integral part of most language classrooms. They may take up five minutes of classtime or the entire class period depending on the needs of the group, or the goals of the teacher. Education is concerned with the individual, whereas drama is concerned with the development and nurturing of the individuality of the individual. Thus, we put drama in proper perspective. It is not a panacea, but it can be powerful medicine.

I would like to discuss now the importance of relaxation exercises, one of the drama techniques I have listed which is useful in language teaching. The evidence is pretty convincing that language is best learned when the learner is in a relaxed state. I prefer Timothy Gallwey's (1976) term, 'relaxed concentration.' Most of us have been conditioned to worry about what others think of us or what others expect of us. In our desire to please others, we sometimes find ourselves virtually under their control and unable to function effectively. Students especially have been molded to the point where they are afraid of making mistakes, and teachers are partly to blame. We seem to have forgotten the value of mistakes as an integral part of the learning process. The road to successful language learning is paved with mistakes. As children, we take mistakes in our stride—they are not barriers to learning. As adults, most of us have lost this ability to cope with mistakes with ease. Our educational system has fostered a feeling that mistakes are somehow wrong, something to be avoided. Viola Spolin reminds us that we learn through experience and experiencing, but students cannot experience fully if they are tense or nervous. Stage fright is not restricted to the stage—it occurs in many aspects of daily life and is commonly found in the classroom. Because students are going to be looked at, listened to, and perhaps even laughed at when they use their second language on the stage of life, they need preparation which will help them cope with these potentially stressful situations. It is my contention that relaxation exercises can help and help significantly.

When an individual is relaxed, the entire body which includes the mind is in a receptive mood. I say "body" because I feel that too much of our education is concerned only with the anatomy from the neck up. We need to add the whole body and become aware that the body not only aids in learning but is a powerful communicator in its own right. Tenseness is the antithesis

of receptiveness where language learning is concerned. Perhaps we need a slogan something along the lines of, "Relax and learn."

A good example of the value of relaxation can be shown in a simple exercise that many would-be actors have experienced in their theater training. They stand on the stage and face the audience. Invariably they show various degrees of uneasiness: twitching, looking at the floor giggling, or perhaps 'acting up' to get the audience laughing. The student-actors are then given a simple task to accomplish such as finding out how many people are wearing red, how many electrical outlets they can find, how many window panes are visible, and so forth. The concentration required in accomplishing these simple tasks immediately erases stage fright. Relaxed concentration. Obviously we can apply this technique to our language classes. By being given a problem to solve and by concentrating on the solution of that problem, our student-actors lose their stage fright. There are many activities which I include among relaxation exercises. Examples are voice exercises, breathing exercises, lip and tongue exercises. (For specifics, see my book, *English in Three Acts*.) In addition to these, mime exercises such as those found in Way (1967), Spolin (1970), and others are excellent. Such exercises help individuals come together and cooperate in group situations. While there are a few genuine loners in this world, most of us are more comfortable in group situations. The language class is no different, and note that Stevick in his *Memory, Meaning and Method* (1969) has stressed the need of belonging to a group and the feeling of security which this gives.

Acting may be defined as doing, and this very act of doing usually takes care of the problem of stage fright. But there is something more important going on here when drama is being used in the language classroom. And that is that drama can lead the student out of concentrating on learning language per se and into using the language for a purpose, something which language teachers are forever seeking.

To me one of the most important things in language is the use of the self, or said another way, the individuality of the individual. Let me expand on what I mean by this. Self is one's own feelings, beliefs, emotions, or attitudes as expressed either verbally, kinesthetically or both, in a particular situation. It is very important that the language teacher accept that individuality which is present in each and every student. The next step is to let each student express that individuality in his or her use of language. We more or less expect that when an individual becomes fluent in a second language that person will then show the true self—the individuality will come forth. Rather than squelching the expression of self in the beginning stages of language teaching by insisting on conformity, I believe that we should foster the blossoming of the individual from the very beginning.

Let me give you an example of what I mean. A native English-speaking teacher in Thailand had asked one of her students to say a particular dialog with anger. The student recited the dialog but not to the teacher's satisfac-

tion. After repeated tries, the student explained to the teacher that in Thailand people did not get angry. Anger is one of our basic emotions, and Thais, being human beings, get angry. However, Thais may not get angry in that particular situation or may not manifest their anger in the same way as the teacher expected. And so the student's message was clear—or should have been: "For me to learn to be angry in this situation is foolish for I will never get angry in this situation, or I would not express anger in the way you expect." For a teacher to attempt to model the different emotions is impossible; for though we all have the same basic emotions, our way of expressing them varies greatly according to the individual and the situation.

Wilga Rivers in an article entitled, "The Natural and the Normal in Language Learning" says,

"As we teach another language, or help someone learn another language, who are we to say what is a 'normal' use of language for a particular individual in a particular situation? How are we to know what, to him, is the 'expected order of things' at a deeper nonapparent level, since this depends on such elusive factors as personal assessment of the situation and perceived relationships? This is particularly difficult for us to divine when our student comes from a culture with which we are not intimately familiar. We must recognize that one person's 'natural' may well be another person's 'unnatural' or can even be disconcerting or distasteful to him." (1976, p. 2)

Are there ways we can get our students to add themselves—the self—to the language they are learning? It has been my experience that the relaxation exercises I have been discussing do help students to achieve this end. By letting go of their inhibitions and being in an atmosphere of acceptance, they can learn to express their true feelings. Memorization and rote recitation of dialogs from whatever source will not accomplish this. This is mere mouthing of other people's words. When one is concentrating on saying memorized lines, one is not listening to what others are saying. And a good actor, like a good conversationalist, must be a good listener. From this it follows that listening must be an important part of our overall language teaching program because it is only when we listen to what others are saying that we can respond to them in any meaningful way.

Are there methods by which we can promote good listening and effective communication within the confines imposed by classrooms and structured material? I think the answer is yes. One of the most useful exercises I have found and one that I have been urging people to use for a number of years is what I call TALK AND LISTEN. TALK AND LISTEN grew out of a technique used by many professional actors to foster true communication with each other when they are working on a script. A most useful by-product of this technique is that the actors learn their scripts in the process without sitting down with the express purpose of memorizing their lines. In essence, they learn their lines without memorizing them. There is a very fine distinction between memorizing lines and learning them, but I am

convinced that it is an important one. My observations are that language students enjoy using the TALK AND LISTEN system. Moreover, they avoid rote memorization through its use, and they make their dialog material come alive because the expression of self comes through.

In addition to the TALK AND LISTEN system, I have found improvisation to be extremely valuable. Further, there are improvisations which can be used at virtually every level of language learning. A rich source of improvisations is to be found in Maley and Duff (1978). In fact, I find their coverage on the subject superior to that found in many handbooks for actors. The value of improvisations is that they present a problem to be solved, and the solution to the problem calls for a meaningful activity in which the students use the language they have. Moreover, often the different participants have differing goals to achieve. Contrast this with other kinds of language learning activities where all students are expected to do exactly the same thing and where there are no opportunities for the expression of self.

English is becoming more and more the lingua franca of the world. Successful users of English have the ability to deal effectively with different varieties of English in a wide range of cultural situations. Language training that includes exercises such as those drama affords—observation, development of sensitivity, relaxation—cannot help but be of immense value in preparing students to cope with multi-cultural situations and their attendant use of language.

In conclusion let me quote Maley and Duff (1978, p. 10),

"It (drama) does not allow us to define our territory so exclusively: it forces us to take as our starting point life, not language. . .

Once his students have discovered that there is another world much closer and more real than that of Mr. Brown, Herr Schmidt, and M. Dupont, with their waxwork wives and children, the problem of 'how to keep their interests' will gradually disappear. And strongest of all, this world does not need to be conjured up with expensive equipment—all that is needed is a roomful of human beings."

Thus, in the language teaching context, we seek a roomful of human beings that feel free to communicate with each other without inhibitions because they are not threatened by either teacher or peers, who are secure in the knowledge that their contributions, however meager, will be considered valuable input to the total communication interchange. If we can accomplish this within the constraints of the language classroom, then we can send our students forth into real-world communication situations with some assurance that they will be able to accomplish the same thing there. Drama and drama techniques can help students and teachers achieve this end.

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Vocabulary Preparation for Reading in the Content Area

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Students at the Economics Institute receive content area and language instruction in preparation for graduate study in economics and related fields. They need vocabulary specifically related to economics in addition to general vocabulary. Accordingly, a reading program which combines general reading with reading in the content area has been designed. General vocabulary is provided in standard reading texts and the SRA Reading Laboratory; economics vocabulary has been introduced by incorporating an anthology of economics articles into the program.

Texts designed for content-area teaching are not always suitable for language teaching. Vocabulary preparation is necessary to reduce the vocabulary load and thereby facilitate reading fluency. This paper outlines a procedure for selecting and presenting vocabulary to facilitate reading in the content area.

Teachers of English as a second language have come to recognize the importance of meeting the specific needs of their students. In order to meet these needs, reading materials must accurately reflect the contexts in which students will actually use the language. The simplest means of ensuring this is to use authentic materials, that is, materials whose purpose is to convey information, not to teach the language with which that information is conveyed. English for Special Purposes programs have drawn their materials from shop manuals, company reports, scientific journals and other technical sources; similarly, English for Academic Purposes programs can draw their materials from textbooks, journals and other academic sources. However, in order to use authentic materials for language teaching, a certain amount of vocabulary preparation is necessary. The procedure for selecting and presenting vocabulary which is outlined in this paper was used to prepare students at the Economics Institute for reading in the content areas of economics and related fields. Nevertheless, the same procedure could be used for preparing students in other programs for reading in different content areas.

Students come to the Economics Institute for content area and language instruction in order to prepare themselves for graduate programs in economics, business and related fields such as agricultural economics, accounting and public administration. The content area instruction primarily consists

of basic courses in mathematics, statistics and economy theory. These courses are designed to provide the students with the background required for graduate study in their fields at U.S. universities. The language program consists of intensive English as a second language training designed to prepare the students to receive this content area instruction as well as to help them acquire the English fluency they will need to succeed as graduate students.

The students' language needs are twofold. First, they need the general language skills necessary to get along in an English-speaking academic environment and, of course, to obtain the necessary 500 to 600 TOEFL score. Second, as graduate students they will need specialized language skills. They need to be able to take lecture notes, use the library, read technical material, make oral reports and write research papers, skills which most of our students already have in their native languages but which present difficulty in English, their second (or third) language.

In order to meet these needs, the reading component of the English program combines specialized reading in the content area with reading on more general topics. General reading is provided through the use of standard ESL reading texts and the SRA Reading Laboratory. (See Appendix A.) Specialized reading is provided through selections from Kenneth G. Elzinga's *Economics: A Reader* (1978), an anthology of articles on economics-related topics which is used as a supplementary text for introductory college economics courses. Thus, students have the opportunity to develop their general English vocabulary and reading skills with the standard texts and SRA materials while developing a specialized vocabulary by reading selections comparable to what they will read in graduate school.

Texts intended for content area teaching are not always suitable for language instruction, particularly when the content is technical and the vocabulary is difficult. The articles in Elzinga's reader do not deal directly with the principles of economic theory, but rather with trends and issues which illustrate these principles. This puts the student with a weak background in economic theory on somewhat the same footing as one with a strong background. Thus, the Elzinga articles are more conducive to language teaching than most economics or business texts. However, they do contain a high proportion of unfamiliar vocabulary. Comprehension will be severely limited if most of the words in a reading passage are unfamiliar, and when students are forced to look up every other word in their dictionaries, reading fluency suffers. They run the risk of missing the overall meaning of the passage, of not seeing the forest for the trees.

In order to use these articles effectively in the reading program, the load of unfamiliar vocabulary had to be reduced by using the following procedure for vocabulary preparation. Unfamiliar items had to be selected from the articles and then presented to the students so that they could become familiar enough with the words to gain the confidence necessary for

fluent reading. Simply teaching the meanings of the words would not be enough; the vocabulary had to be presented in a way that would help the students develop their own strategies for guessing the meanings of unfamiliar words.

After articles of appropriate length and difficulty had been selected from the anthology for use at the intermediate and advanced levels of the reading program, vocabulary lists were compiled for each article. (See Appendix B.) Any word or phrase likely to be unfamiliar to students was included, so these lists tended to be rather long. After editing to eliminate repetition of items from previous lists, these lists still ranged from 50 to 150 words in length. It would obviously be unreasonable to expect students to look up 50 to 150 words for each article, much less to learn them, and dictionary definitions would probably be more confusing than beneficial for many words. Consequently, some of the words had to be presented in the form of vocabulary exercises. The following three criteria were used to select items for use in these exercises.

First priority was given to key words and phrases essential for understanding the main ideas of the articles. For example in Julien Simon's article "An Almost Practical Solution to Airline Overbooking" (Elzinga, 1978), key terms like "overbooking," "bid," and "recompensed" are used to convey the main ideas of the article, whereas terms like "lottery," "decorous," and "one-price store" occur only in the context of supporting details. The key words and phrases are presented in vocabulary preparation exercises. (See Appendix C.) Part I of the exercise consists of sentences containing key vocabulary items with contextual definitions. Students use their knowledge of context clues to identify these definitions. For Part II of the exercise, a paragraph or two containing key vocabulary is selected from the article. Students use context clues to determine the meanings of the underlined words and phrases, then write definitions for them. Care was taken to select paragraphs which not only contained clues to the meaning of the vocabulary but also conveyed some of the main ideas of the article. Thus, Part II functions both as a vocabulary exercise and as a "focusing" exercise which gives students an idea of what to expect when they eventually read the article.

Second priority was given to vocabulary items which provide a context for explaining important technical vocabulary used in the articles. For native speakers, technical terms seem to present the greatest difficulty when reading in content areas. Surprisingly, technical vocabulary is not the greatest obstacle for most of our students. This is partly because many of them are already familiar with these terms from their undergraduate study, and partly because these terms tend to be explained in context in the Elzinga articles. They seem to have the greatest difficulty with what J. R. Cowan (1974) has called "sub-technical vocabulary," the non-technical vocabulary which commonly occurs with technical terms and often provides the context in which these terms are explained. In the introduction to Simon's article:

on airline overbooking, for example, the term "Pareto optimal move" is defined in context. "A *Pareto optimal move*, one of the subtlest concepts in economic science, basically means a move that economically benefits at least one person without making anyone else worse off." (Elzinga, 1978, p. 50.) Here the greatest difficulty is in understanding the "sub-technical" terms "economically benefits" and "worse off" with which "Pareto optimal move" is defined.

The third criterion for selecting words for vocabulary exercises was the suitability of the words for these exercises. Three types of exercises were used: vocabulary in context, word study, and dictionary exercises. Some words lend themselves to vocabulary in context exercises because they have familiar synonyms or can be presented in familiar contexts which make their meanings clear. (See Appendix D.) Sentences or pairs of sentences containing vocabulary items and contextual clues to their meanings are written or selected from the article, and students write definitions for the underlined words. Other vocabulary items which are derived or combined forms are suitable for word study exercises. (See Appendix E.) By providing explanations and examples of the influences of common prefixes and suffixes on these words, this type of exercise can help students determine the meanings and functions of these and other similar words. Common Latin and Greek roots can be treated in the same way, provided their meanings are universal enough to be useful to the students. Finally, words with more than one meaning, or words whose meanings can best be determined by looking them up in a dictionary, are suitable for dictionary exercises. (See Appendix F.) Words are presented in context and students copy the appropriate definitions from their dictionaries.

Vocabulary preparation begins at the lower intermediate, or 260, level of the reading program. (See Appendix A.) At this level, the vocabulary preparation exercises are introduced. These exercises provide practice in recognizing context clues while familiarizing students with the vocabulary and main ideas of the articles they will read at the next level. The articles are then introduced at the intermediate, or 360, level. Prior to reading each article, students work on the vocabulary in context, word study and dictionary exercises described above. These exercises provide reinforcement for the vocabulary acquisition skills presented in the standard text, *Reader's Choice* (Baudoin et al. 1977). At the same time, the students become familiar with more of the vocabulary and ideas they will encounter in the article. Then the vocabulary lists are distributed. Distributing the vocabulary lists after the vocabulary exercises have been completed reduces the trauma of being confronted with a list of 50 to 150 unfamiliar words. By pointing out those words which have been learned through previous exercises, the instructor can also help instill the confidence necessary for fluent reading of remaining words from context, using their dictionaries only as a last resort.

Systematic vocabulary preparation is time-consuming for both students

and instructors, but it encourages fluent reading while providing students with a more meaningful reading experience than they might otherwise receive. It takes time to prepare and use vocabulary exercises, but vocabulary preparation becomes less necessary as students develop independent vocabulary acquisition skills through the use of these exercises and those in the standard text. The number of words presented before reading the articles decreases at the upper intermediate, or 460, level of the program where only vocabulary in context exercises are used, and very few vocabulary exercises are used at the advanced (560 and 660) levels. With systematic vocabulary preparation at these intermediate levels, we have been able to provide our students with realistic and challenging reading practice. They are able to develop their reading skills in the context of articles related to their fields, authentic articles comparable to those they will be expected to read when they enter graduate schools of economics and business.

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APPENDIX A

ECONOMICS INSTITUTE READING PROGRAM INTERMEDIATE AND ADVANCED LEVELS

Level	Texts
260 (Lower Intermediate)	<i>Encounters</i> , Fimaleur & Berger, Harcourt, Brace Javanovich, 1974 <i>Economics Vocabulary #1, 2, and 3</i> (Vocabulary preparation exercises for the selections to be read at the next level)
360 (Intermediate)	<i>Reader's Choice</i> , Baudoin et al, University of Michigan Press, 1977, Units 1 and 2 <i>Economics: A Reader</i> , Elzinga (Ed.), Harper & Row, 1978 1. "An Almost Practical Solution to Airline Overbooking," Julian Simon, p. 50 2. "Measuring America's Wealth," John W. Kendrick, p. 149 3. "The Economy of China," James Tobin, p. 281
460 (Upper Intermediate)	<i>Reader's Choice</i> , Units 5 and 4 <i>Economics: A Reader</i> 1. "What Should Be The Price of a Gallon of Gasoline?" Armen Alchain, p. 135. 2. "The Amazing Impact of Lord Keynes," <i>Time</i> , p. 143 3. "The Multinational Corporation," Lawrence B. Krause, p. 253. (Vocabulary in context exercises accompany each article.)
560 (Advanced)	<i>Reader's Choice</i> , Units 5-8 <i>Economics: A Reader</i> 1. "Economics: Why It's Hard," Leonard Silk, p. 3 2. "Does Advertising Raise or Lower Prices?" Robert Steiner, p. 27 3. "Does Money Buy Happiness?" Richard Easterlin, p. 159 4. "Inflation: Who Wins and Who Loses?" W. Le. Joskins, p. 183 (No vocabulary exercises used.)
660 (Advanced)	<i>Reader's Choice</i> , Units 9-12 <i>Economics: A Reader</i> 1. "The Market for Airports," W.D. Grampp, p. 15 2. "Government Regulation in the Public Interest: The U.S. Experience," Mark Green and Ralph Nader, p. 72 3. "Naderism and the Public Interest: The U.S. Experience," Ralph Winter, Jr., p. 75 4. "Pollution: An Economic Problem," Larry Ruff, p. 90 5. "Is the End of the World at Hand?" Robert Solow, p. 274 (No vocabulary exercises used.)

APPENDIX B
ECONOMICS INSTITUTEVocabulary List: Elzinga, *Economics: A Reader*

Reading 360

1. "An Almost Practical Solution to Airline Overbooking," Simon, p. 50

subtlet	worse off
benefits	a fit of impotent rage
overbooking	to a higher degree
innovative	the level of <i>optimum</i> overbooking
valid	the <i>parameters</i> of which
rectify	maximum net revenue
gamble	in a position to
cancellations	be taken up
seat claimants	to the contrary
ticket holders	worth a trial
bid	would cost practically
destination	it just isn't done
recompensed	it smacks of the pushcart rather than
probability	the one price store
crude	particularly cautious
implement	
seating capacity	
scheme	
astronomical	
cartel	
sanctions	
price cutter	
exceptional	
professional	
lottery	
bet	
property	
auction	
utilities	
trade-offs	
loser	
<i>a priori</i>	
adopted	
decorous	
crass	
competitive	
adopter	
atmosphere	

APPENDIX C

ECONOMICS INSTITUTE

English Program

Reading 2

7. Economics Vocabulary #1

Preparation for "An Almost Practical Solution to Airline Overbooking"

- I. The meaning of the underlined word is given in the second sentence. Find the meaning and circle it.

EXAMPLE: I enjoy reading for pleasure in my free time. (When I am not busy) I like to read newspapers, magazines and short stories.

1. Airline overbooking can be an aggravating problem. The airline's practice of selling more tickets than the number of seats on the plane causes many passengers to get angry.
 2. The airlines will not implement my solution. They will say that it is too expensive for them to put it into operation.
 3. A Boeing 747 Jumbo Jet has a greater seating capacity than a Boeing 707. The number of people who can be seated comfortably on a 747 is almost twice the number of a 707 can carry.
 4. The cost of operation of a private Concorde SST airplane would be astronomical. The cost is extremely high, and only wealthy companies or governments could afford it.
 5. Airline pilots have to be particularly cautious. They must be more careful than most other pilots because they are responsible for so many people's lives.
- II. Read this paragraph. Then write the meanings of the underlined words. Do not use your dictionary. The other words in the paragraph will help you figure out the meaning.

The solution to airline overbooking is simple. All that an airline agent needs to do is distribute an envelope and a bid form among the ticket-holders, instructing each person to write down the lowest sum of money he is willing to accept in return for waiting for the next flight. The lowest bidder is paid in cash and given a ticket for the next flight. All the other passengers board the plane and complete their flight to their destination. All parties benefit, and no party loses. All passengers either complete the flight or are recompensed by a sum which they value more than the immediate completion of the flight. And airlines could also gain, because they would be able to overbook to a higher degree than at present, and hence fly their plane closer to seating capacity.

(from Simon, "An Almost Practical Solution to Airline Overbooking", in Elzinga, *Economics: A Reader*, Harper & Row, 1978, p. 50.)

1. bid— _____
2. Ticket-holders— _____
3. destination— _____
4. recompensed— _____
5. to a higher degree— _____

III. Quiz. Fill in the blanks in the following paragraph using these words:

overbooking
seating capacity
astronomical
particularly cautious
implement

bids
ticket-holders
destination
recompensed
to a higher degree

Airline ticket agents ~~must~~ be _____ when they sell too many tickets for an airline flight. Some passengers may become angry if they are not _____ for the cost and inconvenience of waiting for the next flight. Julian Simon suggests a possible solution to this problem of _____. He suggests that, when there are not enough seats for the passengers, each of the _____ write down the lowest amount of money he is willing to accept for waiting for the next flight. Then the ticket agent collects these _____ and gives seats to the highest bidders. The lowest bidder is given the amount of money he asked for, plus a seat on the next flight to his _____. If the airlines _____ this suggestion, they will avoid the _____ cost of operating half-empty airplanes. They will be able to operate airplanes at full _____, and will be able to overbook flights _____.

APPENDIX D

ECONOMICS INSTITUTE

English Program

Reading 3

Vocabulary in Context

"An Almost Practical Solution to Airline Overbooking"

Write definitions, synonyms, or explanations of the underlined words. Do not use your dictionary. The other words in the sentences will help you guess the meaning.

Example:

A *Pareto optimal move*, one of the subtlest concepts in economic science, basically means a move that economically benefits at least one person without making anyone else worse off.

an action that helps one or more people without hurting anyone else.

1. All parties benefit, and no party *loses*.

2. An airline flight attendant *distributes* food and drink among the passengers after the plane has left the airport.

3. Airlines *jumble* on a certain number of cancellations for each flight. They expect a few people to cancel their reservations, so they try to sell a few extra tickets for the flight.

4. It is *likely* that a few people will cancel their reservations, so the airlines try to sell a few additional tickets for each flight.

5. Of course this *scheme* will not be taken up by the airlines. But what are the real reasons why this plan will not be *adopted*.
scheme: _____
adopted: _____
6. The probability that there will be more passengers than seats on the plane is higher during the tourist season. There is very little chance that your plane will be overbooked if you fly during the *off-season*.

7. I bought my bicycle at an auction for \$50. Other people *bid* \$20 or \$30, but I offered to pay \$50 for it. The bicycle was sold to me because I was the highest *bidder*.
auction: _____
bid: _____
8. Low-grade *crude* oil is shipped from the oil fields to the refineries in huge tankers. At the refineries, it is refined into higher-quality fuels such as gasoline.

9. You may drive a car in this state if you have a valid driver's license. You may not drive here if your license has expired or has been cancelled.

APPENDIX E

Word Study

"An Almost Practical Solution to Airline Overbooking"

A. Prefixes

Prefix	Meaning	Examples
over-	beyond, excessive (too much/many)	overbooking oversleep overcook
under-	below, insufficient (not enough)	underbooking underpaid underdeveloped
un-	not	unlikely unemployed unprofitable

1. Overbooking = selling too many tickets for an airline flight.
Underbooking = _____

2. Likely = very possible, expected
Unlikely = _____

3. Overcook (verb) = _____

4. Underpaid = _____

5. Unprofitable = _____

B. Suffixes

noun suffixes:	-tion, -ity
verb suffixes:	-ify, -ate
adjective suffixes:	-ive, -al, -ous, -able
adverb suffixes:	-ly

Write the missing forms of the words in the spaces. Do not write in the spaces marked with XXXX

VERB	NOUN	ADJECTIVE	ADVERB
1. compete	competition	_____	competitively
2. innovate	innovation	_____	innovatively
3. XXXXXX	caution	_____	cautiously
4. XXXXXX	_____	probable	probably
5. practice	practice	_____	practically
6. _____	simplicity	simple	simply
7. _____	indication	indicative	XXXXXX

C. Agent Noun Suffixes: -er, -or, -ant, -ist

- A price-cutter is a person who cuts or reduces prices.
- A ticket-holder is a person who _____ a ticket.
- A seat-claimant is a person who _____ a seat.
- A bidder is a person who bids.
- A loser is _____
- An adopter is _____
- A competitor is _____
- A tourist is _____

APPENDIX F
ECONOMICS INSTITUTE
English Program
Reading 3

Dictionary Exercises

"An Almost Practical Solution to Airline Overbooking"

A. The underlined words in these sentences have more than one meaning. Look up each underlined word in your American Heritage Dictionary and select the best definition for the word as it is used in the sentence. Write that definition in the space.

1. An airline could first implement the bid system at present booking levels.

2. All parties benefit and no party loses.

3. The airline could also gain because they would be able to overbook to a higher degree.

4. He could not board an aeroplane for which he held a valid ticket.

5. This scheme is worth a trial, and the trial would cost practically nothing.

6. This scheme will not be adopted because it smacks of the pushcart rather than the one-price store.

B. Some of these pairs of words are similar in meaning, but others are opposite in meaning. Write "S" in the space if the words have *similar* meanings. Write "O" if they have *opposite* meanings. You may need to use your dictionary to find the meanings of *some* of the words.

Examples: benefits _____ O _____ loses
gamble _____ S _____ bet

- | | | | |
|-------------------|-----------|----------------------|------------|
| 1. scheme _____ | solution | 5. auction _____ | lottery |
| 2. take up _____ | implement | 6. optimum _____ | worse off |
| 3. crude _____ | subtle | 7. valid _____ | cancelled |
| 4. probably _____ | likely | 8. requirement _____ | commitment |